

T H E

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POLITICAL WORKS

O F

ANDREW FLETCHER, Esq;

MUSEUM
O F S A L T O U N .

G L A S G O W :

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M D C C X L I X .

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE design of this small edition is to make the works of so eminent a patron of liberty, and lover of his country, more universally known and read. And, as the discourse concerning the affairs of Spain, hitherto published in Italian, is a specimen of the author's admirable political genius, that will scarce be deemed inferior to any in the collection; in order to make it as generally understood as the rest, an English translation of it is here given.

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C H A R A C T E R S
O F T H E
A U T H O R.

I.

From a MS.* in the library of the late
THOMAS RAWLINSON, Esq;

ANDREW FLETCHER
of Saltoun is a gentleman of
a good estate in Scotland, attended
with the improvement of a good edu-
cation. He was knight of the shire

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for

* Intitled, Short political characters of the chief of the lords and commons of England, of the then ministry, and the most noted officers both by sea and land: of the foreign ministers, and nobility and gentry of Scotland before the union of the two kingdoms.

for Lothian to that parliament, where the duke of York was commissioner, in the reign of king Charles II. and openly opposed the arbitrary designs of that prince, and the fatal bill of accession; which obliged him wisely to retire, first to England, and then to Holland.

THE duke of York could not forgive his behaviour in that parliament; they summoned him to appear at Edinburgh, which he not daring to do, was declared traitor, and his estate confiscated: he retired to Hungary, and served several campaigns under the duke of Lorraine: he returned to Holland after the death of king Charles II. and came over to England with the duke of Monmouth; had the misfortune to shoot the mayor of Lime after his landing; and on it returned again to Holland; and came over at the Revolution with the prince of Orange.

HE is so zealous an assertor of the liberties of the people, that he is too jealous of the growing power of all princes; in whom he thinks ambition so natural, that he is not for trusting the best of princes with the power which ill ones may make use of against the people; believes all princes were made by, and for the good of, the people; and thinks princes should have no power but that of doing good. This made him oppose king Charles; invade king James; and oppose the giving so much power to king William, whom he never would serve; nor does he ever come into the administration of this queen: but stands up a stout pillar for the constitution of the parliament of Scotland.

HE is a gentleman steady in his principles, of nice honour, with abundance of learning: brave as the sword he wears,

and bold as a lion: a sure friend, and an irreconcilable enemy: would lose his life readily to serve his country; and would not do a base thing to save it. His thoughts are large as to religion, and could never be brought within the bounds of any particular sect. Nor will he be under the distinction of a whig or tory; saying, those names are used to cloak the knaves of both.

His notions of government, however, are too fine spun; and can hardly be lived up to by men subject to the common frailties of nature; neither will he give allowance for extraordinary emergencies: witness the duke of Shrewsbury, with whom he had always been very intimate; yet the duke coming to be secretary of state a second time, purely to save his country, this gentleman would never be in common charity with him afterwards. And my lord Spencer, now
lord

ford Sunderland, for voting for the army, was used by that man much after the same manner.

HE hath wrote some very good things; but they are not published in his name: he hath a very good genius: A low, thin man, of a brown complexion; full of fire; with a stern, sour look; and fifty years old.

II.

LOCKHART's Memoirs, p. 68.

ANDREW FLETCHER of Saltoun, in the first part of his life, did improve himself, to a great degree, by reading and travelling: he was always a great admirer of both antient and modern republics; and therefore the more displeas'd at some steps which he thought wrong in king Charles

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the second's reign ; whereby he drew upon himself the enmity of the ministers of that government : to avoid the evil consequences of which, he went abroad ; during which time, his enemies malice still continuing, he was upon slight, frivolous pretences, summoned to appear before the privy-council ; and their designs to ruin him being too apparent, he was so enraged, that he concurred, and came over with the duke of Monmouth, when he invaded England ; upon which he was forfeited. Thereafter he came over with the prince of Orange ; but that prince was not many months in England, till he saw his designs, and left him, and ever thereafter hated, and appeared as much against him as any in the kingdom. Being elected a parliament-man in the year 1703, he shewed a sincere and honest inclination towards the honour
and

and interest of his country. The thoughts of England's domineering over Scotland, was what his generous soul could not away with. The indignities and oppression Scotland lay under, gauled him to the heart. So that in his learned and elaborate discourses, he exposed them with undaunted courage, and pathetic eloquence. He was blessed with a soul that hated and despised whatever was mean and unbecoming a gentleman; and was so stedfast to what he thought right, that no hazard nor advantage, no, not the universal empire, nor the gold of America, could tempt him to yield or desert it. And I may affirm, that in his life he never once pursued a measure with the prospect of any by-end to himself, no further than he judged it for the common benefit and advantage of his country. He was master of the English, Latin, Greek,

Greek, French, and Italian languages; and well versed in history, the civil law, and all kinds of learning: and as he was universally accomplished, he employed his talents for the good of mankind. He was a strict and nice observer of all the points of honour, and his word sacred, as brave as his sword; and had some experience in the art of war, having, in his younger years, been some time a volunteer in both the land and sea service. In his travels he had studied, and came to understand the respective interests of the several princes and states of Europe. In his private conversation, affable to his friends, (but could not endure to converse with those he thought enemies to their country) and free of all manner of vice. He had a penetrating, clear, and lively apprehension; but so extremely wedded to his own opinions, that there were few

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(and those too must be his beloved friends, and of whom he had a good opinion) he could endure to reason against him; and did, for the most part, so closely and unalterably adhere to what he advanced, (which was frequently very singular) that he would break with his party before he would alter the least jot of his schemes and maxims: and therefore it was impossible that any sett of men, that did not give up themselves to be absolutely directed by him, to please him, so as to carry him along in all points. And thence it came to pass, that he often, in the parliament, stuck close to the country party, and was their **CICERO**. He was, no doubt, an enemy to all monarchical governments; at least thought they wanted to be much reformed: but I do very well believe, his aversion to the English and the union was so great, in revenge to them, he

he would have sided with the royal family: but as that was a subject not fit to be entered upon with him, this is only a conjecture from some innuendos I have heard him make: but so far is certain, he liked, commended, and conversed with high-flying Tories, more than any other sett of men, acknowledging them to be the best countrymen, and of most honour, integrity, and ingenuity. To sum up all; he was a learned, gallant, honest, and every other way well accomplished gentleman: and if ever a man proposes to serve and merit well of his country, let him place his courage, zeal, and constancy as a pattern before him; and think himself sufficiently applauded and rewarded, if he obtain the character of being like ANDREW FLETCHER of Saltoun.

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A
DISCOURSE
OF
GOVERNMENT
With relation to
MILITIAS.

Edinburgh ;

Printed in the Year MDCXCVIII.

DISCOVER

GOTTFRY

MILLER

Printed in the Year MDCXCVII

A

DISCOURSE
OF
GOVERNMENT

With relation to

MILITIAS.

THERE is not, perhaps, in human affairs, any thing so unaccountable as the indignity and cruelty with which the far greater part of mankind suffer themselves to be used under pretence of government. For some men falsely persuading themselves, that bad governments are advantageous to them, as most conducing to gratify their ambition, avarice, and luxury, set themselves, with the utmost art and violence, to procure their establishment : and by such men almost the whole world has been trampled under foot, and subjected to tyranny, for want of understanding by what means and methods they were enslaved. For though mankind take

great care and pains to instruct themselves in other arts and sciences, yet very few apply themselves to consider the nature of government, an enquiry so useful and necessary both to magistrate and people. Nay, in most countries, the arts of state being altogether directed either to enslave the people, or to keep them under slavery; it is become almost every where a crime to reason about matters of government. But if men would bestow a small part of the time and application which they throw away upon curious but useless studies, or endless gaming, in perusing those excellent rules and examples of government which the antients have left us, they would soon be enabled to discover all such abuses and corruptions as tend to the ruin of public societies. It is therefore very strange, that they should think study and knowlege necessary in every thing they go about, except in the noblest and most useful of all applications, the art of government.

Now, if any man, in compassion to the miseries of a people, should endeavour to disabuse them in any thing relating to government, he will certainly incur the displeasure, and perhaps be pursued by the rage of those, who think they find their account in the oppression of the world; but will hardly succeed in his endeavours to undeceive the multitude. For the generality of all ranks of men are cheated by words and names; and provided the antient terms and outward forms of any government be retained, let the nature of
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It be never so much altered, they continue to dream that they shall still enjoy their former liberty, and are not to be awakened till it prove too late. Of this there are many remarkable examples in history; but that particular instance which I have chosen to insist on, as most suitable to my purpose, is, the alteration of government which happened in most countries of Europe about the year 1500. And it is worth observation, that though this change was fatal to their liberty, yet it was not introduced by the contrivance of ill-designing men; nor were the mischievous consequences perceived, unless perhaps by a few wise men, who, if they saw it, wanted power to prevent it.

Two hundred years being already passed since this alteration began, Europe has felt the effects of it by sad experience; and the true causes of the change are now become more visible.

To lay open this matter in its full extent, it will be necessary to look farther back, and examine the original and constitution of those governments that were established in Europe about the year 400, and continued till this alteration.

WHEN the Goths, Vandals, and other warlike nations, had, at different times, and under different leaders, over-run the western parts of the Roman empire, they introduced the following form of government into all the nations they subdued. The general of the army became king of the conquered country; and the conquest being absolute,

he divided the lands amongst the great officers of his army, afterwards called barons; who again parcelled out their several territories in smaller portions to the inferior soldiers that had followed them in the wars, and who then became their vassals, enjoying those lands for military service. The king reserved to himself some demesnes for the maintenance of his court and attendance. When this was done, there was no longer any standing army kept on foot, but every man went to live upon his own lands; and when the defence of the country required an army, the king summoned the barons to his standard, who came attended with their vassals. Thus were the armies of Europe composed for about eleven hundred years; and this constitution of government put the sword into the hands of the subject, because the vassals depended more immediately on the barons than on the king, which effectually secured the freedom of those governments. For the barons could not make use of their power to destroy those limited monarchies, without destroying their own grandeur; nor could the king invade their privileges, having no other forces than the vassals of his own demesnes to rely upon for his support in such an attempt.

I LAY no great stress on any other limitations of those monarchies; nor do I think any so essential to the liberties of the people, as that which placed the sword in the hands of the subject. And since, in our time, most princes of Europe
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are in possession of the sword, by standing mercenary forces kept up in time of peace, absolutely depending upon them; I say, that all such governments are changed from monarchies to tyrannies. Nor can the power of granting or refusing money, though vested in the subject, be a sufficient security for liberty, where a standing mercenary army is kept up in time of peace: for he that is armed, is always master of the purse of him that is unarmed. And not only that government is tyrannical, which is tyrannically exercised; but all governments are tyrannical, which have not, in their constitution, a sufficient security against the arbitrary power of the prince.

I do not deny, that these limited monarchies, during the greatness of the barons, had some defects: I know few governments free from them. But after all, there was a balance that kept those governments steady, and an effectual provision against the encroachments of the crown. I do less pretend, that the present governments can be restored to the constitution before mentioned. The following discourse will shew the impossibility of it. My design, in the first place, is, to explain the nature of the past and present governments of Europe, and to disabuse those who think them the same, because they are called by the same names; and who ignorantly clamour against such as would preserve that liberty which is yet left.

IN order to this, and for a further and clearer illustration of the matter, I shall deduce from

8 *A Discourse of Government*

their originals, the causes, occasions, and the complication of those many unforeseen accidents; which, falling out much about the same time, produced so great a change. And it will, at first sight, seem very strange, when I shall name the restoration of learning, the invention of printing, of the needle, and of gunpowder, as the chief of them; things in themselves so excellent, and which, the last only excepted, might have proved of infinite advantage to the world, if their remote influence upon government had been obviated by suitable remedies. Such odd consequences, and of such a different nature, accompany extraordinary inventions of any kind.

CONSTANTINOPLE being taken by Mahomet the second, in the year 1453, many learned Greeks fled over into Italy; where the favourable reception they found from the popes, princes, and republics of that country, soon introduced amongst the better sort of men, the study of the Greek tongue, and of the antient authors in that language. About the same time likewise some learned men began to restore the purity of the Latin tongue. But that which most contributed to the advancement of all kind of learning, and especially the study of the antients, was the art of printing; which was brought to a great degree of perfection a few years after. By this means their books became common, and their arts generally understood and admired. But as mankind from a natural propension to pleasure, is always

ways ready to chuse out of every thing what may most gratify that vicious appetite; so the arts which the Italians first applied themselves to improve, were principally those that had been subservient to the luxury of the antients in the most corrupt ages, of which they had many monuments still remaining. Italy was presently filled with architects, painters, and sculptors; and a prodigious expence was made in buildings, pictures, and statues. Thus the Italians began to come off from their frugal and military way of living, and addicted themselves to the pursuit of refined and expensive pleasures, as much as the wars of those times would permit. This infection spread itself by degrees into the neighbouring nations. But these things alone had not been sufficient to work so great a change in government, if a preceding invention, brought into common use about that time, had not produced more new and extraordinary effects than any had ever done before; which probably may have many consequences yet unforeseen, and a farther influence upon the manners of men, as long as the world lasts; I mean, the invention of the needle, by the help of which, navigation was greatly improved, a passage opened by sea to the East-Indies, and a new world discovered. By this means the luxury of Asia and America was added to that of the antients; and all ages, and all countries concurred to sink Europe into an abyss of pleasures; which were rendered the more expensive by a

perpetual change of the fashions in clothes, equipage, and furniture of houses.

THESE things brought a total alteration in the way of living, upon which all government depends. It is true, knowlege being mightily increased, and a great curiosity and nicety in every thing introduced, men imagined themselves to be gainers in all points, by changing from their frugal and military way of living, which, I must confess, had some mixture of rudeness and ignorance in it, though not inseparable from it. But, at the same time, they did not consider the unspeakable evils that are altogether inseparable from an expensive way of living.

To touch upon all these, though slightly, would carry me too far from my subject: I shall therefore content myself to apply what has been said, to the immediate design of this discourse.

THE far greater share of all those expences fell upon the barons; for they were the persons most able to make them, and their dignity seemed to challenge whatever might distinguish them from other men. This plunged them on a sudden into so great debts, that if they did not sell, or otherwise alienate their lands, they found themselves at least obliged to turn the military service, their vassals owed them, into money; partly by way of rent, and partly by way of lease, or fine, for payment of their creditors. And, by this means, the vassal, having his lands no longer at so easy a rate as before, could no more be obliged

to military service, and so became a tenant. Thus the armies, which in preceding times had been always composed of such men as these, ceased of course, and the sword fell out of the hands of the barons. But there being always a necessity to provide for the defence of every country, princes were afterwards allowed to raise armies of voluntiers and mercenaries. And great sums were given by diets and parliaments for their maintenance, to be levied upon the people grown rich by trade, and dispirited for want of military exercise. Such forces were at first only raised for present exigencies, and continued no longer on foot than the occasions lasted. But princes soon found pretences to make them perpetual, the chief of which was the garrisoning frontier towns and fortresses; the methods of war being altered to the tedious and chargeable way of sieges, principally by the invention of gunpowder. The officers and soldiers of these mercenary armies depending, for their subsistence and preferment, as immediately upon the prince, as the former militias did upon the barons, the power of the sword was transferred from the subject to the king, and war grew a constant trade to live by. Nay, many of the barons themselves being reduced to poverty, by their expensive way of living, took commands in those mercenary troops; and being still continued hereditary members of diets, and other assemblies of state, after the loss of their vassals, whom they formerly represented, they were

were now the readiest of all others to load the people with heavy taxes, which were employed to encrease the prince's military power, by guards, armies, and citadels, beyond bounds or remedy.

SOME princes, with much impatience, pressed on to arbitrary power before things were ripe, as the kings of France, and Charles duke of Burgundy. Philip de Comines says of the latter, ' That
' having made a truce with the king of France,
' he called an assembly of the estates of his country, and remonstrated to them the prejudice he
' had sustained by not having standing troops as
' that king had; that if five hundred men had
' been in garison upon their frontier, the king of
' France would never have undertaken that war;
' and having represented the mischiefs that were
' ready to fall upon them for want of such a force,
' he earnestly pressed them to grant such a sum as
' would maintain eight hundred lances. At
' length they gave him a hundred and twenty
' thousand crowns more than his ordinary revenue, (from which tax Burgundy was exempted.)
' But his subjects were, for many reasons, under
' great apprehensions of falling into the subjection
' to which they saw the kingdom of France already
' reduced by means of such troops. And truly
' their apprehensions were not ill-grounded; for
' when he had got together five or six hundred
' men at arms, he presently had a mind to more,
' and with them disturbed the peace of all his
' neighbours: he augmented the tax from one

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‘ hundred and twenty to five hundred thousand crowns, and increased the numbers of those men at arms, by whom his subjects were greatly oppressed.’ Francis de Beaucaire, Bishop of Metz, in his history of France, speaking of the same affair, says, ‘ That the foresaid states could not be induced to maintain mercenary forces, being sensible of the difficulties into which the commonalty of France had brought themselves by the like concession ; that princes might increase their forces at pleasure, and sometimes (even when they had obtained money) pay them ill, to the vexation and destruction of the poor people ; and likewise, that kings and princes, not contented with their antient patrimony, were always ready, under this pretext, to break in upon the properties of all men, and to raise what money they pleased. That nevertheless they gave him a hundred and twenty thousand crowns yearly, which he soon increased to five hundred thousand : but that Burgundy (which was the antient dominion of that family) retained its antient liberty, and could by no means be obliged to pay any part of this new tax.’ It is true, Philip de Comines subjoins to the forecited passage, that he believes standing forces may be well employed under a wise king or prince ; but that if he be not so, or leaves his children young, the use that he or their governours make of them, is not always profitable either for the king or his subjects. If this addition be his own,
and

and not rather an insertion added by the president of the parliament of Paris, who published, and as the foresaid Francis de Beaucaire says he was credibly informed, corrupted his memoirs, yet experience shews him to be mistaken: for the example of his master, Louis the eleventh, whom, upon many occasions he calls a wise prince, and those of most princes under whom standing forces were first allowed, demonstrates, that they are more dangerous under a wise prince than any other: and reason tells us, that if they are the only proper instruments to introduce arbitrary power, as shall be made plain, a cunning and able prince, who by the world is called a wise one, is more capable of using them to that end, than a weak prince, or governours during a minority; and that a wise prince having once procured them to be established, they will maintain themselves under any.

I AM not ignorant, that before this change, subsidies were often given by diets, states, and parliaments, and some raised by the edicts of princes for maintaining wars; but these were small, and no way sufficient to subsist such numerous armies as those of the barons militia. There were likewise mercenary troops sometimes entertained by princes who aimed at arbitrary power, and by some commonwealths in time of war for their own defence; but these were only strangers, or in very small numbers, and held no proportion with those vast armies of mercenaries which
this

this change has fixed upon Europe, to her affliction and ruin.

WHAT I have said hitherto has been always with regard to one or other, and often to most countries in Europe. What follows will have a more particular regard to Britain; where, though the power of the barons be ceased, yet no mercenary troops are yet established. The reason of which is, that England had, before this great alteration, lost all her conquests in France, the town of Calais only excepted; and that also was taken by the French before the change was thoroughly made. So that the kings of England had no pretence to keep up standing forces, either to defend conquests abroad, or to garrison a frontier towards France, since the sea was now become the only frontier between those two countries.

NEITHER could the frontier towards Scotland afford any colour to those princes for raising such forces, since the kings of Scotland had none; and that Scotland was not able to give money for the subsisting any considerable number. It is true, the example of France, with which country Scotland had constant correspondence, and some French counsellors about Mary of Guise, queen dowager and regent of Scotland, induced her to propose a tax for the subsisting of mercenary soldiers to be employed for the defence of the frontier of Scotland; and to ease, as was pretended, the barons of that trouble. But in that honourable and wise remonstrance, which was made by three
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hundred of the lesser barons (as much dissatisfied with the lords, who, by their silence, betrayed the public liberty, as with the regent herself) she was told, that their forefathers had defended themselves and their fortunes against the English, when that nation was much more powerful than they were at that time, and had made frequent incursions into their country : that they themselves had not so far degenerated from their ancestors, to refuse, when occasion required, to hazard their lives and fortunes in the service of their country : that as to the hiring of mercenary soldiers, it was a thing of great danger, to put the liberty of Scotland into the hands of men, who are of no fortunes, nor have any hopes but in the public calamity ; who, for money, would attempt any thing ; whose excessive avarice opportunity would inflame to a desire of all manner of innovations, and whose faith would follow the wheel of fortune. That though these men should be more mindful of the duty they owe to their country, than of their own particular interest, was it to be supposed, that mercenaries would fight more bravely for the defence of other mens fortunes, than the possessors would do for themselves or their own ? or that a little money should excite their ignoble minds to a higher pitch of honour than that with which the barons are inspired, when they fight for the preservation of their fortunes, wives, and children, religion, and liberty ? that most men did suspect and apprehend, that this

this new way of making war, might be not only useless, but dangerous to the nation; since the English, if they should imitate the example, might, without any great trouble to their people, raise far greater sums for the maintenance of mercenary soldiers, than Scotland could, and by this means not only spoil and lay open the frontier, but penetrate into the bowels of the kingdom: and that it was in the militia of the barons their ancestors had placed their chief trust, for the defence of themselves against a greater power.

By these powerful reasons, being made sensible of her error, the queen desisted from her demands. Her daughter, queen Mary, who, as the great historian says, looked upon the moderate government of a limited kingdom, to be disgraceful to monarchs, and upon the slavery of the people, as the freedom of kings, resolved to have guards about her person; but could not fall upon a way to compass them: for she could find no pretext, unless it were the empty show of magnificence which belongs to a court, and the example of foreign princes; for the former kings had always trusted themselves to the faith of the barons. At length, upon a false and ridiculous pretence, of an intention in a certain nobleman to seize her person, she assumed them; but they were soon abolished. Nor had her son, king James, any other guards, whilst he was king of Scotland only, than forty gentlemen: and that king declares, in the act of parliament, by which they are established,

ed, that he will not burden his people by any tax or imposition for their maintenance.

HENRY the seventh, king of England, seems to have perceived sooner, and understood better the alteration before-mentioned, than any prince of his time, and obtained several laws to favour and facilitate it. But his successors were altogether improper to second him: for Henry the eighth was an unthinking prince. The reigns of Edward the sixth, and queen Mary, were short; and queen Elizabeth loved her people too well to attempt it. King James, who succeeded her, was a stranger in England, and of no interest abroad. King Charles the first did indeed endeavour to make himself absolute, though somewhat preposterously; for he attempted to seize the purse, before he was master of the sword. But very wise men have been of opinion, that if he had been possessed of as numerous guards as those which were afterwards raised, and constantly kept up by king Charles the second, he might easily have succeeded in his enterprize. For we see that in those struggles which the country party had with king Charles the second, and in those endeavours they used to bring about that revolution which was afterwards compassed by a foreign power, the chief and insuperable difficulty they met with, was from those guards. And though king James the second had provoked these nations to the last degree, and made his own game as hard as possible, not only by invading our civil liberties, but likewise by

endeavouring to change the established religion for another which the people abhorred, whereby he lost their affections, and even those of a great part of his army: yet, notwithstanding all this mismanagement, Britain stood in need of a foreign force to save it; and how dangerous a remedy that is, the histories of all ages can witness. It is true, this circumstance was favourable, that a prince, who had married the next heir to these kingdoms, was at the head of our deliverance: yet did it engage us in a long and expensive war. And now, that we are much impoverished, and England by means of her former riches and present poverty, fallen into all the corruptions which those great enemies of virtue, want, and excess of riches, can produce; that there are such numbers of mercenary forces on foot at home and abroad; that the greatest part of the officers have no other way to subsist; that they are commanded by a wise and active king, who has at his disposal the formidable land and sea forces of a neighbouring nation, the great rival of our trade; a king who, by blood, relation, other particular ties, and common interest, has the house of Austria, most of the princes of Germany, and potentates of the North, for his friends and allies; who can, whatever interest he joins with, do what he thinks fit in Europe; I say, if a mercenary standing army be kept up, (the first of that kind, except those of the usurper Cromwel, and the late king James, that Britain has

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has seen for thirteen hundred years) I desire to know where the security of the British liberties lies, unless in the good-will and pleasure of the king: I desire to know, what real security can be had against standing armies of mercenaries, backed by the corruption of both nations, the tendency of the way of living, the genius of the age, and the example of the world.

HAVING shewn the difference between the past and present government of Britain, how precarious our liberties are, and how from having the best security for them we are in hazard of having none at all; it is to be hoped, that those who are for a standing army, and losing no occasion of advancing and extending the prerogative, from a mistaken opinion, that they establish the antient government of these nations, will see what sort of patriots they are.

BUT we are told, that only standing mercenary forces can defend Britain from the perpetual standing armies of France. However frivolous this assertion be, as indeed no good argument can be brought to support it, either from reason or experience, as shall be proved hereafter; yet allowing it to be good, what security can the nations have, that these standing forces shall not, at some time or other, be made use of to suppress the liberties of the people, though not in this king's time, to whom we owe their preservation? For, I hope, there is no man so weak to think, that
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keeping up the army for a year, or for any longer time than the parliaments of both nations shall have engaged the public faith to make good all deficiencies of funds granted for their maintenance, is not the keeping them up for ever. It is a pitiful shift in the undertakers for a standing army, to say, we are not for a standing army; we are only for an army from year to year, or till the militia be made useful. For Britain cannot be in any hazard from France; at least till that kingdom, so much exhausted by war and persecution, shall have a breathing space to recover. Before that time our militias will be in order; and in the mean time the fleet. Besides, no prince ever surrendered so great countries and so many strong places, I shall not say, in order to make a new war; but as these men will have it, to continue the same. The French king is old and diseased, and was never willing to hazard much by any bold attempt. If he, or the dauphin, upon his decease, may be suspected of any farther design, it must be upon the Spanish monarchy, in case of the death of that king. And if it be objected, that we shall stand in need of an army, in such a conjuncture; I answer, that our part in that, or in any other foreign war, will be best managed by sea, as shall be shewn hereafter.

LET us then see if mercenary armies be not exactly calculated to enslave a nation. Which I think may be easily proved, if we consider that such troops are generally composed of men who
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make a trade of war ; and having little or no patrimony, or spent what they once had, enter into that employment in hopes of its continuance during life, not at all thinking how to make themselves capable of any other. By which means heavy and perpetual taxes must be entailed forever upon the people for their subsistence ; and since all their relations stand engaged to support their interest, let all men judge, if this will not prove a very united and formidable party in a nation.

BUT the undertakers must pardon me if I tell them, that no well-constituted government ever suffered any such men in it, whose interest leads them to imbroil the state in war, and are an useless and insupportable burden in time of peace. Venice or Holland are neither of them examples to prove the contrary ; for, had not their situation been different from that of other countries, their liberty had not continued to this time. And they suffer no forces to remain within those inaccessible places, which are the chief seats of their power. Carthage, that had not those advantages of situation, and yet used mercenary forces, was brought to the brink of ruin by them in a time of peace, beaten in three wars, and at last subdued by the Romans. If ever any government stood in need of such a sort of men, it was that of antient Rome, because they were engaged in perpetual war. The argument can never be so strong in any other case. But the Romans well

well knowing such men and liberty to be incompatible, and yet being under a necessity of having armies constantly on foot, made frequent changes of the men that served in them; who, when they had been some time in the army, were permitted to return to their possessions, trades, or other employments. And to shew how true a judgment that wise state made of this matter, it is sufficient to observe, that those who subverted that government, the greatest that ever was amongst men, found themselves obliged to continue the same soldiers always in constant pay and service.

IF, during the late war, we had followed so wise a course as that of Rome, there had been thrice as many trained men in the nations as at present there are; no difficulties about recruits, nor debates about keeping up armies in time of peace, because some men resolve to live by arms in time of peace, whether it be for the good of the nations or not. And since such was the practice of Rome, I hope no man will have the confidence to say, that this method was not as effectual for war as any other. If it be objected, that Rome had perpetual wars, and therefore that might be a good practice among them, which would not be so with us; I confess I cannot see the consequence; for if Rome had perpetual wars, the Romans ought still to have continued the same men in their armies, that they might, according to the notion of these men, render their
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troops more useful. And if we did change our men during a war, we should have more men that would understand something of it. If any man say, not so much as if they continued in the army: I answer, that many of those who continue in the army, are afterwards swept away by the war, and live not to be of use in time of peace; that those who escape the war, being fewer than in the other case, are soon consumed: and that mercenary standing forces in time of peace, if not employed to do mischief, soon become like those of Holland in 72, fit only to lose forty strong places in forty days.

THERE is another thing which I would not mention if it were not absolutely necessary to my present purpose; and that is, the usual manners of those who are engaged in mercenary armies. I speak now of officers in other parts of Europe, and not of those in our armies, allowing them to be the best; and if they will have it so, quite different from all others. I will not apply to them any part of what I shall say concerning the rest. They themselves best know how far any thing of that nature may be applicable to them. I say then, most princes of Europe having put themselves upon the foot of keeping up forces, rather numerous than well-entertained, can give but small allowance to officers, and that likewise is for the most part very ill paid, in order to render them the more necessitous and depending; and yet they permit them to live in all that extravagancy

gancy which mutual example and emulation prompts them to. By which means the officers become insensibly engaged in numberless frauds, oppressions, and cruelties; the colonels against the captains, and the captains against the inferior soldiers; and all of them against all persons with whom they have any kind of business. So that there is hardly any sort of men who are less men of honour than the officers of mercenary forces; and indeed honour has now no other signification amongst them than courage. Besides, most men that enter into those armies, whether officers or soldiers, as if they were obliged to shew themselves new creatures, and perfectly regenerate, if before they were modest or sober, immediately turn themselves to all manner of debauchery and wickedness, committing all kind of injustice and barbarity against poor and defenceless people. Now, though the natural temper of our men be more just and honest than that of the French, or of any other people, yet may it not be feared, that such bad manners may prove contagious? And if such manners do not fit men to enslave a nation, devils only must do it. On the other hand, if it should happen that the officers of standing armies in Britain should live with greater regularity and modesty than was ever yet seen in that sort of men, it might very probably fall out, that being quartered in all parts of the country, some of them might be returned members of parliament for

divers of the electing boroughs; and of what consequence that would be, I leave all men to judge. So that whatever be the conduct of a mercenary army, we can never be secure as long as any such force is kept up in Britain.

But the undertakers for a standing army will say; Will you turn so many gentlemen to starve, who have faithfully served the government? This question I allow to be founded upon some reason. For it ought to be acknowledged in justice to our soldiery, that on all occasions, and in all actions, both officers and soldiers have done their part; and therefore I think it may be reasonable, that all officers and soldiers of above forty years, in consideration of their unfitness to apply themselves at that age to any other employment, should be recommended to the bounty of both parliaments.

I CONFESS I do not see by what rules of good policy any mercenary forces have been connived at either in Scotland, England, or Ireland. Sure, it is allowing the dispensing power, in the most essential point of the constitution of government in these nations.

SCOTLAND and England are nations that were formerly very jealous of liberty; of which there are many remarkable instances in the histories of these countries. And we may hope that the late revolution having given such a blow to arbitrary power in these kingdoms, they will be very careful to preserve their rights and privileges. And sure

sure it is not very suitable to these, that any standing forces be kept up in Britain: or that there should be any Scots, English, or Irish regiments maintained in Ireland, or any where abroad; or regiments of any nation at the charge of England. I shall not say how readily the regiments that were in the service of Holland came over against the duke of Monmouth: he was a rebel, and did not succeed. But we all know with what expedition the Irish mercenary forces were brought into Britain to oppose his present majesty in that glorious enterprize for our deliverance.

THE subjects formerly had a real security for their liberty, by having the sword in their own hands. That security, which is the greatest of all others, is lost; and not only so, but the sword is put into the hand of the king by his power over the militia. All this is not enough; but we must have, in both kingdoms, standing armies of mercenaries, who, for the most part, have no other way to subsist, and consequently are capable to execute any commands: and yet every man must think his liberties as safe as ever, under pain of being thought disaffected to the monarchy. But sure it must not be the antient limited and legal monarchies of Scotland and England, that these gentlemen mean. It must be a French fashion of monarchy, where the king has power to do what he pleases, and the people no security for any thing they possess. We have quitted our antient security, and put the militia

into the power of the king. The only remaining security we have is, that no standing armies were ever yet allowed in time of peace, the parliament of England having so often and so expressly declared them to be contrary to law: and that of Scotland having not only declared them to be a grievance, but made the keeping them up an article in the forfeiture of the late king James. If a standing army be allowed, what difference will there be between the government we shall then live under, and any kind of government under a good prince? Of which there have been some in the most despotic tyrannies. If these be limited, and not absolute monarchies, then, as there are conditions, so there ought to be securities on both sides. The barons never pretended that their militias should be constantly on foot, and together in bodies in times of peace. It is evident that would have subverted the constitution, and made every one of them a petty tyrant. And it is as evident, that standing forces are the fittest instruments to make a tyrant. Whoever is for making the king's power too great or too little, is an enemy to the monarchy. But to give him standing armies, puts his power beyond controul, and consequently makes him absolute. If the people had any other real security for their liberty than that there be no standing armies in time of peace, there might be some colour to demand them. But if that only remaining security be taken away
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from the people, we have destroyed these monarchies.

It is pretended, we are in hazard of being invaded by a powerful enemy; shall we therefore destroy our government? What is it then that we would defend? Is it our persons, by the ruin of our government? In what then shall we be gainers? In saving our lives by the loss of our liberties? If our pleasures and luxury make us live like brutes, it seems we must not pretend to reason any better than they. I would fain know, if there be any other way of making a prince absolute, than by allowing him a standing army: if by it all princes have not been made absolute; if without it, any. Whether our enemies shall conquer us, is uncertain; but whether standing armies will enslave us, neither reason nor experience will suffer us to doubt. It is therefore evident, that no pretence of danger from abroad can be an argument to keep up standing armies, or any mercenary forces.

LET us now consider whether we may not be able to defend ourselves by well-regulated militias against any foreign force, though never so formidable: that these nations may be free from the fears of invasion from abroad, as well as from the danger of slavery at home.

AFTER the barons had lost the military service of their vassals, militias of some kind or other were established in most parts of Europe. But the prince having every where the power of naming

and preferring the officers of these militias, they could be no balance in government as the former were. And he that will consider what has been said in this discourse, will easily perceive, that the essential quality requisite to such a militia, as might fully answer the ends of the former, must be, that the officers should be named and preferred, as well as they and the soldiers paid, by the people that set them out. So that if princes look upon the present militias as not capable of defending a nation against foreign armies; the people have little reason to entrust them with the defence of their liberties.

AND though, upon the dissolution of that ancient militia under the barons, which made these nations so great and glorious, by setting up militias generally through Europe, the sword came not into the hands of the commons, which was the only thing could have continued the former balance of government, but was every-where put into the hands of the king: nevertheless ambitious princes, who aimed at absolute power, thinking they could never use it effectually to that end, unless it were wielded by mercenaries, and men that had no other interest in the commonwealth than their pay, have still endeavoured by all means to discredit militias, and render them burdensome to the people, by never suffering them to be upon any right, or so much as tolerable, foot, and all to persuade the necessity of standing forces. And indeed they have succeeded too well
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in this design: for the greatest part of the world has been fooled into an opinion, that a militia cannot be made serviceable. I shall not say it was only militias could conquer the world; and that princes to have succeeded fully in the design before-mentioned, must have destroyed all the history and memory of antient governments, where the accounts of so many excellent models of militia are yet extant. I know the prejudice and ignorance of the world concerning the art of war, as it was practised by the antients; though what remains of that knowlege in their writings be sufficient to give a mean opinion of the modern discipline. For this reason I shall examine, by what has passed of late years in these nations, whether experience have convinced us, that officers bred in foreign wars, be so far preferable to others who have been under no other discipline than that of an ordinary and ill-regulated militia; and if the commonalty of both kingdoms, at their first entrance upon service, be not as capable of a resolute military action, as any standing forces. This doubt will be fully resolved, by considering the actions of the marquis of Montrose, which may be compared, all circumstances considered, with those of Caesar, as well for the military skill, as the bad tendency of them; though the marquis had never served abroad, nor seen any action, before the six victories, which, with numbers much inferior to those of his enemies, he obtained in one year; and the most con-

siderable of them were chiefly gained by the assistance of the tenants and vassals of the family of Gordon. The battle of Naseby will be a farther illustration of this matter, which is generally thought to have been the deciding action of the late civil war. The number of forces was equal on both sides; nor was there any advantage in the ground, or extraordinary accident that happened during the fight, which could be of considerable importance to either. In the army of the parliament, nine only of the officers had served abroad, and most of the soldiers were prentices drawn out of London but two months before. In the king's army there were above a thousand officers that had served in foreign parts: yet was that army routed and broken by those new-raised prentices; who were observed to be obedient to command, and brave in fight; not only in that action, but on all occasions during that active campaign. The people of these nations are not a dastardly crew, like those born in misery, under oppression and slavery, who must have time to rub off that fear, cowardice, and stupidity which they bring from home. And though officers seem to stand in more need of experience than private soldiers; yet in that battle it was seen, that the sobriety and principle of the officers on the one side, prevailed over the experience of those on the other.

It is well known, that divers regiments of our army, lately in Flanders, have never been once

in action, and not one half of them above thrice, nor any of them five times during the whole war. O, but they have been under discipline, and accustomed to obey! And so may men in militias. We have had to do with an enemy, who, though abounding in numbers of excellent officers, yet durst never fight us without a visible advantage. Is that enemy like to invade us, when he must be unavoidably necessitated to put all to hazard in ten days, or starve?

A GOOD militia is of such importance to a nation, that it is the chief part of the constitution of any free government. For though, as to other things, the constitution be never so slight, a good militia will always preserve the public liberty. But in the best constitution that ever was, as to all other parts of government, if the militia be not upon a right foot, the liberty of that people must perish. The militia of antient Rome, the best that ever was in any government, made her mistress of the world: but standing armies enslaved that great people, and their excellent militia and freedom perished together. The Lacedaemonians continued eight hundred years free, and in great honour, because they had a good militia. The Swisses at this day are the freest, happiest, and the people of all Europe who can best defend themselves, because they have the best militia.

I HAVE shewn that liberty in the monarchical governments of Europe, subsisted so long as the militia of the barons was on foot: and that on the

decay of their militia, (which, though it was none of the best, so was it none of the worst) standing forces and tyranny have been every-where introduced, unless in Britain and Ireland; which, by reason of their situation, having the sea for frontier, and a powerful fleet to protect them, could afford no pretence for such forces. And though any militia, however slightly constituted, be sufficient for that reason to defend us; yet all improvements in the constitution of militias, being further securities for the liberty of the people, I think we ought to endeavour the amendment of them, and till that can take place, to make the present militias useful in the former and ordinary methods.

THAT the whole free people of any nation ought to be exercised to arms, not only the example of our ancestors, as appears by the acts of parliament made in both kingdoms to that purpose, and that of the wisest governments among the antients; but the advantage of chusing out of great numbers, seems clearly to demonstrate. For in countries, where husbandry, trade, manufactures, and other mechanical arts are carried on, even in time of war, the impediments of men are so many and so various, that unless the whole people be exercised, no considerable numbers of men can be drawn out, without disturbing those employments, which are the vitals of the political body. Besides, that upon great defeats, and under extreme calamities, from which no govern-
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ment was ever exempted, every nation stands in need of all the people, as the antients sometimes did of their slaves. And I cannot see, why arms should be denied to any man who is not a slave, since they are the only true badges of liberty; and ought never, but in times of utmost necessity, to be put into the hands of mercenaries or slaves: neither can I understand why any man that has arms, should not be taught the use of them.

By the constitution of the present militia in both nations, there is but a small number of the men able to bear arms exercised; and men of quality and estate are allowed to send any wretched servant in their place: so that they themselves are become mean, by being refused to handle arms; and will not learn the use of them, because they are ashamed of their ignorance: by which means the militias being composed only of servants, these nations seem altogether unfit to defend themselves, and standing forces to be necessary. Now, can it be supposed, that a few servants will fight for the defence of their masters estates, if their masters only look on? Or that some inconsiderate freeholders, as for the most part those who command the militia are, should, at the head of those servants, expose their lives for men of more plentiful estates, without being assisted by them? No bodies of military men can be of any force or value, unless many persons of quality or education be among them; and such men should blush to think of excusing themselves from serving their
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country, at least for some years, in a military capacity, if they consider that every Roman was obliged to spend fifteen years of his life in their armies. Is it not a shame that any man who possesses an estate, and is at the same time healthful and young, should not fit himself by all means for the defence of that, and his country, rather than to pay taxes to maintain a mercenary, who, though he may defend him during a war, will be sure to insult and enslave him in time of peace. Men must not think that any country can be in a constant posture of defence, without some trouble and charge; but certainly it is better to undergo this, and to preserve our liberty with honour, than to be subjected to heavy taxes, and yet have it insolently ravished from us, to our present oppression, and the lasting misery of our posterity. But it will be said, Where are the men to be found who shall exercise all this people in so many several places at once? for the nobility and gentry know nothing of the matter; and to hire so many soldiers of fortune, as they call them, will be chargeable, and may be dangerous, these men being all mercenaries, and always the same men, in the same trusts: besides, that the employing such men would not be suitable to the design, of breeding the men of quality and estate to command, as well as the others to obey.

To obviate these difficulties; and because the want of a good model of militia, and a right method

thod for training people in time of peace, so as they need not apprehend any war, though never so sudden, is at this day the bane of the liberty of Europe, I shall propose one, accommodated to the invincible difficulty of bringing men of quality and estate, or men of any rank, who have passed the time of youth, to the use of arms; and new, because though we have many excellent models of militia, delivered to us by antient authors, with respect to the use of them in time of war, yet they give us but little information concerning the methods by which they trained their whole people for war in time of peace; so that if the model which I shall propose, have not the authority of the antients to recommend it, yet perhaps, by a severe discipline, and a right method of disposing the minds of men, as well as forming their bodies, for military and virtuous actions, it may have some resemblance of their excellent institutions.

WHAT I would offer is, that four camps be formed, one in Scotland, and three in England; into which all the young men of the respective countries should enter, on the first day of the two and twentieth year of their age; and remain there the space of two years, if they be of fortunes sufficient to maintain themselves; but if they are not, then to remain a year only, at the expence of the public. In this camp they should be taught the use of all sorts of arms, with the necessary evolutions; as also wrestling, leaping, swimming,
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and the like exercises. He whose condition would permit him to buy and maintain a horse, should be obliged so to do, and be taught to vault, to ride, and to manage his own horse. This camp should seldom remain above eight days in one place, but remove from heath to heath; not only upon the account of cleanliness and health, but to teach the youth to fortify a camp, to march, and to accustom them (respect being always had to those of a weak constitution) to carry as much in their march as ever any Roman soldier did; that is to say, their tents, provision, arms, armour, their utensils, and the palisadoes of their camp. They should be taught to forage, and be obliged to use the countrymen with all justice in their bargains, for that and all other things they stand in need of from them. The food of every man within the camp should be the same; for bread they should have only wheat, which they are to be obliged to grind with handmills; they should have some salt, and a certain number of beeves allowed them at certain times of the year. Their drink should be water, sometimes tempered with a proportion of brandy, and at other times with vinegar. Their clothes should be plain, coarse, and of a fashion fitted in every thing for the fatigue of a camp. For all these things those who could should pay; and those who could not, should be defrayed by the public, as has been said. The camp should be sometimes divided into two parts, which should remove from each other many miles,

miles, and should break up again at the same time, in order to meet upon some mountainous, marshy, woody, or, in a word, cross ground; that not only their diligence, patience, and suffering in marches, but their skill in seizing of grounds, posting bodies of horse and foot, and advancing towards each other; their chusing a camp, and drawing out of it in order to a battle, might be seen, as well as what orders of battle they would form upon the variety of different grounds. The persons of quality or estate should likewise be instructed in fortification, gunnery, and all things belonging to the duty of an ingineer: and forts should be sometimes built by the whole camp, where all the arts of attacking and defending places should be practised. The youth having been taught to read at schools, should be obliged to read at spare hours some excellent histories, but chiefly those in which military actions are best described; with the books that have been best written concerning the military art. Speeches exhorting to military and virtuous actions should be often composed, and pronounced publicly by such of the youth as were, by education and natural talents, qualified for it. There being none but military men allowed within the camp, and no churchmen being of that number, such of the youth as may be fit to exhort the rest to all christian and moral duties, chiefly to humility, modesty, charity, and the pardoning of private injuries, should be chosen to do it every sunday, and the rest of
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that day spent in reading books, and in conversation directed to the same end. And all this under so severe and rigorous orders, attended with so exact an execution by reward and punishment, that no officer, within the camp, should have the power of pardoning the one, or withholding the other. The rewards should be all honorary, and contrived to suit the nature of the different good qualities and degrees in which any of the youth had shewn, either his modesty, obedience, patience in suffering, temperance, diligence, address, invention, judgement, temper, or valour. The punishments should be much more rigorous than those inflicted for the same crimes by the law of the land. And there should be punishments for some things, not liable to any by the common law, immodest and insolent words or actions, gaming, and the like. No woman should be suffered to come within the camp, and the crimes of abusing their own bodies any manner of way, punished with death. All these things to be judged by their own councils of war; and those councils to have for rule, certain articles drawn up and approved by the respective parliaments. The officers and masters, for instructing and teaching the youth, in all the exercises above-mentioned, should, upon the first establishment of such a camp, be the most expert men in those disciplines; and brought, by encouragements, from all places of Europe; due care being taken that they should not infect the youth with foreign man-

manners. But afterwards they ought to consist of such men of quality or fortune as should be chosen for that end, out of those who had formerly past two years in the camp, and since that time had improved themselves in the wars; who, upon their return, should be obliged to serve two years in that station. As for the numbers of those officers, or masters; their several duties; that of the camp-master-general, and of the commissaries; the times and manner of exercise, with divers other particulars of less consideration, and yet necessary to be determined, in order to put such a design in execution, for brevity's sake I omit them, as easy to be resolved. But certainly it were no hard matter, for men that had passed through such a discipline as that of the camp I have described, to retain it after they should return to their several homes; if the people of every town and village, together with those of the adjacent habitations, were obliged to meet fifty times in the year, on such days as should be found most convenient; and exercise four hours every time: for all men being instructed in what they are to do; and the men of quality and estate most knowing, and expert of all others, the exercise might be performed in great perfection. There might also be yearly, in the summer time, a camp of some thousands of the nearest neighbours brought and kept together for a week to do those exercises, which cannot be performed in any other place: every man of a certain estate being obliged to keep a horse fit for the war. By
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this means, it would be easy, upon any occasion, though never so small (as for example, the keeping of the peace, and putting the laws in execution where force is necessary) or never so great and sudden (as upon account of invasions and conspiracies) to bring together such numbers of officers and soldiers as the exigence required, according to the practice of antient Rome; which, in this particular, might be imitated by us without difficulty: and if such a method were once established, there would be no necessity of keeping up a militia formed into regiments of foot and horse in time of peace. Now, if this militia should stand in need of any farther improvement (because no militias seem comparable to those exercised in actual war; as that of the barons by their constant feuds; and that of Rome, and some other antient commonwealths, by their perpetual wars) a certain small number of forces might be employed in any foreign country where there should be action; a fourth part of which might be changed every year; that all those who had in this manner acquired experience, might be dispersed among the several regiments of any army, that the defence of these countries should at any time call for; which would serve to confirm and give assurance to the rest. Such a militia would be of no great expence to these nations; for the mean clothing and provisions for those who could not maintain themselves, being given only for one year, would amount to little; and no other expence

pence would be needful, except for their arms, a small train of artillery for each camp, and what is to be given for the encouragement of the first officers and masters.

A MILITIA upon such a foot, would have none of the infinite insuperable difficulties there are, to bring a few men who live at a great distance from one another, frequently together to exercise; at which consequently they must be from home every time several days: of finding such a number of masters, as are necessary to train so many thousands of people ignorant of all exercise, in so many different places, and for the most part at the same time: it would have none of those innumerable incumbrances, and unnecessary expences, with which a militia formed into regiments of foot and horse in time of peace is attended. In such a camp, the youth would not only be taught the exercise of a musket, with a few evolutions, which is all that men in ordinary militias pretend to, and is the least part of the duty of a soldier; but besides a great many exercises to strengthen and dispose the body for fight, they would learn to fence, to ride, and manage a horse for the war; to forage, and live in a camp; to fortify, attack, and defend any place; and what is no less necessary, to undergo the greatest toils, and to give obedience to the severest orders. Such a militia, by sending beyond seas certain proportions of it, and relieving them from time to time, would enable us to assist our allies more powerfully than
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by standing armies we could ever do. Such a camp would take away the great difficulty of bringing men of all conditions, who have passed the time of their youth, to apply themselves to the use and exercise of arms; and beginning with them early, when, like wax, they may be moulded into any shape, would dispose them to place their greatest honour in the performance of those exercises, and inspire them with the fires of military glory, to which that age is so inclined; which impression being made upon their youth, would last as long as life. Such a camp would be as great a school of virtue as of military discipline: in which the youth would learn to stand in need of few things; to be content with that small allowance which nature requires; to suffer, as well as to act; to be modest, as well as brave; to be as much ashamed of doing any thing insolent or injurious, as of turning their back upon an enemy; they would learn to forgive injuries done to themselves, but to embrace, with joy, the occasions of dying to revenge those done to their country: and virtue, imbibed in younger years, would cast a flavour to the utmost periods of life. In a word, they would learn greater and better things than the military art, and more necessary too, if any thing can be more necessary than the defence of our country. Such a militia might not only defend a people living in an island, but even such as are placed in the midst of the most warlike nations of the world.

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Now, till such a militia may be brought to some perfection, our present militia is not only sufficient to defend us; but, considering the circumstances of the French affairs, especially with relation to Spain, Britain cannot justly apprehend an invasion, if the fleet of England, to which Scotland furnished, during the late war, seven or eight thousand seamen, were in such order as it ought to be. And it can never be the interest of these nations to take any other share in preserving the balance of Europe, than what may be performed by our fleet. By which means our money will be spent amongst ourselves; our trade preserved to support the charge of the navy; our enemies totally driven out of the sea, and great numbers of their forces diverted from opposing the armies of our allies abroad, to the defence of their own coasts.

IF this method had been taken in the late war, I presume it would have proved, not only more advantageous to us, but also more serviceable to our allies than that which was followed. And it is in vain to say, that at this rate we shall have no allies at all: for the weaker party on the continent must be contented to accept our assistance in the manner we think fit to give it, or inevitably perish. But if we send any forces beyond the seas to join those of our allies, they ought to be part of our militia, as has been said, and not standing forces; otherwise, at the end of every war, the present struggle will recur, and at one time or other

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ther these nations will be betrayed, and a standing army established: so that nothing can save us from following the fate of all the other kingdoms in Europe, but putting our trust altogether in our fleet and militias, and having no other forces than these. The sea is the only empire which can naturally belong to us. Conquest is not our interest, much less to consume our people and treasure in conquering for others.

To conclude; if we seriously consider the happy condition of these nations, who have lived so long under the blessings of liberty, we cannot but be affected with the most tender compassion to think that the Scots, who have, for so many ages, with such resolution, defended their liberty against the Picts, Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, Irish, Normans, and English, as well as against the violence and tyranny of so many of their own princes; that the English, who, whatever revolutions their country has been subject to, have still maintained their rights and liberties against all attempts; who possess a country, every where cultivated and improved by the industry of rich husbandmen; her rivers and harbours filled with ships; her cities, towns, and villages, enriched with manufactures; where men of vast estates live in secure possession of them, and whose merchants live in as great splendor as the nobility of other nations; that Scotland which has a gentry born to excel in arts and arms: that England which
has

has a commonalty, not only surpassing all those of that degree which the world can now boast of, but also those of all former ages, in courage, honesty, good sense, industry, and generosity of temper; in whose very looks there are such visible marks of a free and liberal education; which advantages cannot be imputed to the climate, or to any other cause, but the freedom of the government under which they live: I say, it cannot but make the hearts of all honest men bleed to think, that in their days the felicity and liberties of such countries must come to a period, if the parliaments do not prevent it, and his majesty be not prevailed upon to lay aside the thoughts of mercenary armies, which, if once established, will inevitably produce those fatal consequences that have always attended such forces in the other kingdoms of Europe; violation of property, decay of trade, oppression of the country by heavy taxes and quarters, the utmost misery and slavery of the poorer sort, the ruin of the nobility by their expences in court and army, deceit and treachery in all ranks of men, occasioned by want and necessity. Then shall we see the gentry of Scotland, ignorant through want of education, and cowardly by being oppressed. Then shall we see the once happy commonalty of England become base and abject, by being continually exposed to the brutal insolence of the soldiers; the women debauched by their lust; ugly and nasty through poverty, and the want of things
ne-

necessary to preserve their natural beauty. Then shall we see that great city, the pride and glory, not only of our island, but of the world, subjected to the excessive impositions Paris now lies under, and reduced to a pedling trade, serving only to foment the luxury of a court. Then will Britain know what obligations she has to those who are for mercenary armies,

T W O
D I S C O U R S E S

Concerning the

A F F A I R S

O F

S C O T L A N D ;

Written in the year 1698.

Edinburgh, 1698.

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THE FIRST

DISCOURSE.

NO inclination is so honourable, nor has any thing been so much esteemed in all nations and ages, as the love of that country and society in which every man is born. And those who have placed their greatest satisfaction in doing good, have accounted themselves happy, or unfortunate, according to the success of their endeavours to serve the interest of their country. For nothing can be more powerful in the minds of men, than a natural inclination and duty concurring in the same disposition.

NATURE in most men prevails over reason; reason in some prevails over nature: but when these two are joined, and a violent natural inclination finds itself owned by reason, required by duty, encouraged by the highest praises, and excited by the most illustrious examples, sure that force must be irresistible. Constrained by so great a force, and the circumstances of my affairs not allowing me to be otherwise serviceable to my country, I have, in the following discourse, given

my opinion concerning divers matters of importance, which probably may be debated in the approaching session of parliament. I shall be very well satisfied, if any thing I say do afford a hint that may be improved by men of better judgement to the public good. I hope I shall not be blamed, for giving my opinion in matters of public concernment; since it is the right and duty of every man to write or speak his mind freely in all things that may come before any parliament; to the end, that they who represent the nation in that assembly, may be truly informed of the sentiments of those they represent. Besides, we are now no more under those tyrannical reigns in which it was a crime to speak of public affairs, or to say that the king had received bad counsel in any thing. If in this discourse I argue against some things, which perhaps may not be proposed in the ensuing session of parliament; they are nevertheless such as persons in public trust have, in their conversation, given just cause to think they were designed.

IT is probable that the parliament, before they proceed to any other business, will take into consideration a transaction, which having passed since the last session, may, if it be not abolished, import no less than the infringing the freedom of this and all subsequent parliaments; I mean, the farming of the customs to the state of burroughs.

CORRUPTION is so entirely disowned by all men, that I may be allowed to say, when I name it,

it, that I name the blakeft of crimes ; and when I name any guilty of it, I name a very odious criminal. But corruption is more or lefs dangerous, in proportion to the ftations in which corrupt men are placed. When a private man receives any advantage to betray a trust, one, or a few perfons may fuffer ; if a judge be corrupted, the oppreffion is extended to greater numbers : but when legislators are bribed, or, which is all one, are under any particular ingagement, that may influence them in their legislative capacity, much more when an entire ftate of parliament is brought under thofe circumftances, then it is that we muft expect injuftice to be eftablifhed by a law, and all thofe confequences, which will inevitably follow the fubverfion of a conftitution, I mean, ftanding armies, oppreffive taxes, flavery ; whilft the outward form only of the antient government remains to give them authority. I confefs I have been often ftuck with aftonifhment, and could never make an end of admiring the folly and ftupidity of men living under fome modern governments, who will exclaim againft a judge that takes bribes, and never reft till he be punifhed, or at leaft removed ; and yet, at the fame time, fuffer great numbers of thofe who have the legislative authority, to receive the constant bribes of places and penfions to betray them. But we fhall have lefs to fay for ourfelves, if we fuffer the votes of the whole ftate of burroughs to be at once influenced by the farming of the customs. For in other

places the impudence of bribery has gone no farther than to attack single persons; but to endeavour, at once, to bribe a whole state of parliament, is an attempt of which it seems we only are capable.

YET, to shew how far I am from suspecting any man of the least bad design, without a cause, I shall say, that as I know this business of the farm above-mentioned was first moved without any design to influence the votes of the burroughs in parliament; so I am willing to believe, that few of those who have since acted in this affair had any such design. But if any man, after due consideration of the evil consequences which must follow, and are inseparable from such a farm, shall still persist in endeavouring to continue it, he cannot but be an enemy to the liberties of his country.

THIS is so bold an attempt, and so inconsistent with the freedom of parliament, that till it be removed, it is to be presumed they will not proceed to any other business: but this obstruction once taken away, we may hope they will begin with that affair which presses most, and in which the nation is so universally concerned, I mean that of the African and Indian company.

I KNOW some will exclaim against this method, and propose, that the business of the army may be first taken into consideration, as of more general concernment to the nation, whether it stand or be disbanded. They will not fail to say, that before all other things the king's business (as their stile
runs)

runs) ought to be done. To this I answer, that he who makes a distinction between the business of the king and that of the country, is a true friend to neither. And if it be considered, that the ships of the company are failed; that Scotland has now a greater venture at sea than at any time since we have been a nation; that the accidents and misfortunes to which an enterprize of this nature is subject, are so many and so various, either by the loss of ships from the ordinary hazards of the sea, or hurricanes; by sickness of the men, who, for the most part, are neither accustomed to such long voyages, nor to climates so different from their own; by the death of one or more of those to whom the conduct of this affair is principally entrusted; by being disappointed of fresh provisions when those they carry with them are spent; by being attacked at sea or at land, before they have fortified a place for themselves, or a thousand other accidents, (for all things are extremely difficult to the first undertakers) I say, if it be considered, that provisions, or the smallest things necessary, falling short but by a few days, have often been the ruin of the greatest undertakings, and chiefly of those of this kind; there cannot be any more urgent affair than that of providing incessantly a supply for the necessities of so many men as are on board those ships, who may be brought under extraordinary sufferings by a delay, whilst our standing forces are living at ease. Especially since the nation has so great a concern in this enter-

terprize, that I may well say all our hopes of ever being any other than a poor and inconsiderable people are embarked with them.

THE reputation and power of this nation was formerly very considerable, as long as armies were composed of those numerous militias of the barons. Our ancestors have often seen sixty, eighty, or a hundred thousand men under their ensigns, which then might well bear the motto, That none should provoke them unpunished. Since that time, the face of things is quite changed throughout all Europe; and the former militias being altogether decayed, and no good ones any where established, every country is obliged to defend itself in time of war, and maintain its reputation by the force of money; that is, by mercenary troops, either of their own, or of other countries, both by sea and land. But such a vast expence the riches of no country is able to support without a great trade. In this great alteration our case has been singularly bad and unfortunate: for partly through our own fault, and partly by the removal of our kings into another country, this nation, of all those who possess good ports, and lie conveniently for trade and fishing, has been the only part of Europe which did not apply itself to commerce; and possessing a barren country, in less than an age we are sunk to so low a condition as to be despised of all our neighbours, and made incapable to repel an injury, if any should be offered: so that now our motto may be

be inverted, and all may not only provoke, but safely trample upon us. To recover from such a condition, what would not any people do? What toils would they refuse? To what hazards would they not expose themselves? But if the means by which they are to recover, are not only just and honourable, but such as, with restoring honour and safety to the nation, may give encouragement to that excellent, though now suppressed and almost extinguished spirit of our people, and gratify every man in the eases and pleasures of life; is it not strange, that there should be found men amongst us capable to oppose those things; especially at a time, when, I may say, by no contrivance of any man, but by an unforeseen and unexpected change of the genius of this nation, all their thoughts and inclinations, as if united and directed by a higher power, seem to be turned upon trade, and to conspire together for its advancement, which is the only means to recover us from our present miserable and despicable condition? For hitherto our convenient situation and good harbours, our rich seas and lakes have been unprofitable to us; no care has been taken to set the poor at work; and multitudes of families, for want of employment by trade and manufactures, go yearly out of the kingdom without any intention to return. In such a state and condition of this nation, it seems these men find their account better, than if our country were filled with people and riches, our

friths covered with ships, and they should see every-where the marks of what good government and trade are able to produce.

BUT I shall be told, that I go upon a mistake; and that no Scotsman is an enemy to the African company: that those who approach his majesty, know most of his mind, and are most entrusted by him in the government of this nation; and such as are influenced by them, would only have the parliament to consider the streights and difficulties his majesty would be put to, if he should in an extraordinary manner encourage this trade, by reason, that being king of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces, our interest in this point may come to interfere with that of those nations. The people of those countries solicit, each in favour of their own companies: will not these men so much as advise the king to distribute impartial justice, and to let every one have the proportionable reward of his industry? O but we have an immunity from customs for many years, which neither the English nor Dutch enjoy. I shall not say, that when the English nation shall come to a perfect knowlege of their interest, they will be convinced that riches in Scotland will be beneficial to England, since the seat of the monarchy is there. I need not say, that the English and Dutch are free people, and may surely procure for themselves as great advantages as Scotland; but that Scotland offered to both nations a share in that advantage which they had obtained

rained for themselves only; and to England an equal share. I know the parliament of England took the thing warmly at first; but when, upon due consideration, they found that we had not given them the least just ground of offence, but on the contrary, made them the fairest offer we could; it was then let fall, and has not been mentioned in the last session. So that what these gentlemen allege of his majesty's difficulties to satisfy the English in this point is false, unless by the English they mean those who having, for many years, oppressed the English colonies in America, are afraid, that if any settlement should be made in that part of the world by us, under a free constitution, the English planters, removing to it, might occasion a strict inquiry into their crimes, and their punishment for them.

I do not hear that the Dutch have presented any memorial to his majesty against our company, and cannot imagine in what terms any such address, either from them, or the English, can run. Should it be, that his majesty ought not to protect us in our just rights and privileges? That he should break the laws, and violate his oath by our destruction? Or undermine us, as the court did the fishing company in king Charles's time, and frustrate this second as well as that first great attempt to make the nation considerable? That there have been underhand dealings (though without his majesty's knowlege, as we ought to believe) the affair of Hamburgh does sufficiently demonstrate; and like-

likewise that his majesty's ministers abroad, paid by the crown of England, are no more to be looked upon as ministers for the the crown of Scotland. Since we are separate kingdoms, and have separate ministers at home, we ought to have separate ministers abroad; especially in an affair wherein we may have a separate interest from England, which must always be in matters of trade, though never so inconsiderable. Neither ought we to have separate ministers only upon the account of trade, but upon all occasions, wherein the honour or interest of the nation is concerned. That we have not had them formerly, since we were under one king with England, was, I suppose, to save charges, and because we trusted to the impartiality of such as we judged to be the ministers of the king of Great Britain: but now we are undeceived, and sure the nation could never have bestowed money better, than in having a minister at the late treaty of peace, who might have obtained the re-establishment of the nation in the privileges they had in France, which was totally neglected: and notwithstanding the great and unproportionable numbers of sea and land soldiers that we were obliged to furnish for the support of the war, yet not one tittle of advantage was procured to us by the peace.

Now, these gentlemen, at the same time, would persuade us to pay almost as many forces in time of peace, as we did in time of war; and like Pharaoh's tax-masters would have us make brick with-

without allowing us straw. And all, that these forces, and the regiments, which, to the consuming of our people, we recruit in Holland, in case of any rupture abroad upon the account of the English or Dutch trade, may be employed in their defence.

To obviate then part of so many shameful things, it is my opinion, that in place of laying a land tax upon the kingdom for maintaining forces to defend the English and Dutch trade, we should raise one for the carrying on of our own: and (since the nation is so generally concerned in this Indian trade, that the ruin of it, which, God forbid, may very probably draw along with it that of the whole trade of the kingdom, and a perpetual discouragement from ever attempting any thing considerable hereafter) that a twelve-month's cess should be levied for the support of it; and that whatsoever may be the product of that money, by the trade of the company, shall go to the easing of the nation from public burdens, whenever they shall make a dividend of clear profit. For it is but reasonable, that, since the company has been unjustly hindered of that supply of money which they expected, and might have had from strangers, they should have recourse for redress to the parliament, who if they shall think fit to take such a resolution, the company will be able immediately to procure an advance of money upon the credit of the cess.

It will be also fit, that the company petition the parliament to address his majesty, that the three small frigates, lately built at the expence of this nation, may be appointed for a convoy to the next ships they shall send out.

THE parliament having provided for this pressing affair, will, no doubt, proceed to the business of the forces, and to consider whether a standing army shall be kept up in time of peace, as in time of war; for the arguments used to continue them for a year may be improved to keep them up for ever; especially since we have, at this time, a stronger argument against them, than I hope shall ever be alleged hereafter; I mean that of the nation's being exhausted of money by a three years scarcity next to a famine: but how long this may continue, God only knows.

A LONG and tedious war, which has cost this nation much blood, is at length ended in a peace. Our expence of treasure has been inconsiderable, by reason of our poverty through want of trade; yet have we contributed our part, if the smallness of our stock be considered. But in the loss of our people, which is an expence of blood and riches too, we have paid a treble proportion. Seven or eight thousand of our seamen were on board the English fleet, and two or three thousand in that of Holland: we had twenty battalions of foot, and six squadrons of dragoons here and in Flanders. Besides, I am credibly informed, that every fifth man in the English forces was either of this nation,

on, or Scots-Irish, who are a people of the same blood with us. All these, by a modest computation, may amount to thirty thousand men. This I only mention to answer the reproaches of those who vilify us as an inconsiderable people, and set a mean value on the share we have born in this war. I am unwilling to speak of the returns that have been made to us for our assistance, by refusing to our soldiers the donative given to those who had served no better than they, and by pressing our seamen, contrary to the law of nations. Now, though resenting the last of these, during the war, would have marked us out for disaffection and Jacobitism; yet we ought to hope it may be mentioned at this time without offence. But some will say, that the blessings of peace are so great, that not only the calamities of war, but even affronts and injuries from our neighbours ought to be forgot, and drowned in the joys, which the hopes of ease, tranquillity, and plenty, must needs produce. And indeed I should be contented, that all resentments were sacrificed to such charming hopes, if they had any real foundation. But we have a peace, and yet must not reap any benefit by it; a poor country is to maintain almost as many forces as they did in time of war; a nation endeavouring to set up manufactures, and to advance trade, must still see their people consumed, by continuing on foot mercenary forces.

I SHALL not insist upon the arguments that may be brought against standing forces, nor go
about

about to shew how inconsistent they are with liberty. I shall not mention the examples of almost all the nations of Europe, who, by keeping up such forces in time of peace, are become slaves. This has been fully made out by divers treatises which have been lately published, and are in the hands of most men. Perhaps also it will be said, that I am not to insist upon the point of right in this case, since there is no article in our claim of right to declare the keeping up of a standing army in time of peace, without consent of parliament, to be against law. Yet those who are of that opinion should consider, that the estates of this kingdom have made the keeping up of a standing army, in time of peace, without consent of parliament, an article in the forfeiture of the late king James. But it seems we must use more modest arguments than such as naturally arise from the hazard our liberty may run, by allowing standing forces, or from any right we have to pretend that it is against the constitution of our government to impose them upon us, and be obliged to bring all our reasons from our necessities and inability to maintain any. Indeed, as this is the most modest, so surely it is the strongest argument; for such forces are not to be maintained, without increasing the poverty of this country, and reducing it at length to utter desolation. It is hard if the charges of a government should be the same in time of peace, or even come near the expence that was perhaps requisite to be made in time of war; such a nation can never

ver hope to be in a flourishing state. Now, as our condition will not permit us to keep up these forces, so I can see no reason why we should do it if we could. There is no pretence for them, except only to keep a few wretched Highlanders in order; which might be easily done by a due execution of our old laws made for that purpose, without the help of any fort or garrison. We are at a great distance from any other enemy, and cannot justly fear an invasion from beyond so great a sea as must be passed to come at us. And though, during the late war, we were sometimes under the apprehensions of such an invasion, yet the enemy was not so imprudent to put it to the hazard.

BUT some will say, that the late king James has still many partizans in this nation, that we have always been, and still are a divided people, and that there are many ill men amongst us: they have also the confidence still to tell us of an invasion upon Scotland by the French king; who, to cover this probable design, has delivered up such vast countries, and places of such great importance. Why do they not also say, that as a man every day after he is born, is nearer to his end, so are we every day after the peace nearer to a war? The party of the late king James was always insignificant, and is now become a jest. If the government will encourage good men, they will need no standing forces to secure themselves from the bad. For of what use can any militia be supposed

posed to be, that is not fit to preserve the quiet of a country remote from enemies in time of peace?

THOSE of the presbyterian persuasion should, I think, be the last of all men to establish an army; for, whatever they may promise to themselves, it is certain that either upon his majesty's death, or upon alterations of measures, and changes of dispositions in the minds of the members of future parliaments, it will be always a sure rod for the backs of those who have so many enemies. But men are blind in prosperity, forgetting adversity and the vicissitudes of human affairs. And it were but reasonable, that those of that persuasion, who, in the late king James's reign, made so false a step as was like to have proved fatal to our liberties, should now think of making some amends, and shewing that they have profited by their error, and are not (as they express themselves) time-servers.

BUT to discover the true reason why standing forces are designed to be kept up in this nation in time of peace, we need only look back on the use that was made of them during the late war. For after the reduction of the Highlands, they served only for a seminary to the forces of this nation that were with his majesty in Flanders, the best of their men being drawn out yearly for recruiting those forces. This also proves, that his majesty knew very well, that there was no hazard from the invasions I mentioned before: for, if there had been any real danger of that kind, he would not have weakened the forces in this kingdom

dom so considerably. I am very far from disapproving his majesty's conduct in that affair; I do on the contrary highly commend his wisdom in it, and think it to have been the best use that could be made of forces in this country, whilst the war continued. But must we, in time of peace, be taxed beyond measure to maintain forces, which, upon occasion, are to serve for the defence of two of the richest nations in the world; nations that have manifested their unwillingness to let us into the least co-partnership with them in trade, from which all our riches, if ever we have any, must arise? This is to load a poor nation with taxes, and to oppress them with soldiers, in order to procure plenty and riches to other countries, of which they are not to have the least share. Rich and opulent nations are to enjoy the benefits of the peace, and we are to suffer, that they may enjoy them with security.

THEREFORE I am of opinion, that since we can expect no advantages from our neighbours or allies, we do ourselves right, by refusing to maintain any standing forces for their behoof, because we need none for our own defence, and that our militia may be sufficient on all occasions where force is necessary. Eighty-four thousand pounds, which is the sum proposed for the yearly maintenance of standing forces, is as much money to us, as two millions five hundred and twenty thousand pounds is to England, since we cannot pretend to above the thirtieth part of their wealth.

And

And yet that nation allows but three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the forces they keep on foot; of which sum twelve thousand pounds is more than the thirtieth part. If it be said, that England allows more for their fleet than for their land forces; I answer, it ought to be considered, that England, with all its riches, maintains only five millions and half of people, and that Scotland, upon a thirtieth part, maintains a million and half. Eighty-four thousand pounds laid out yearly in husbandry, manufactures, and trade, may do great things in Scotland, and not only maintain (though in a different way of living) all those officers and soldiers, of which these forces are designed to consist, but also vastly enrich this nation; whereas great numbers of soldiers produce nothing but beggary in any place. People employed in manufactures, husbandry, and trade, make consumption as well as soldiers, and their labour and industry is an overplus of wealth to the nation, whilst soldiers consume twice as much as they pay for, and live idle.

It is not the least misfortune of this country, that the younger sons of the nobility and gentry have, in all times, had their inclinations debauched to an idle, for the most part criminal, and almost always unprofitable sort of life; I mean, that of a soldier of fortune. Their talents might have been much better employed in trade and husbandry, to the improvement of their country, and increase of their patrimony. Let us begin to

come

come off from such ruinous ways of living; and if we design to carry on a great trade, let us employ men capable to manage it. From all these considerations, I say, that the keeping up of any standing forces in time of peace is not only useless, but destructive to the well-being of this nation.

IF it be objected, that this would take away even the ordinary guards; I answer, that whilst we had a king residing in Scotland, he had no other guard than forty gentlemen; and now when we have no king amongst us, we must have a squadron of horse and two battalions of foot, with the title of guards. But I would know what guards they are we must keep up. Are they those who yielded up the rank of the nation and dignity of a crown, if it have any pre-eminence above a commonwealth? I am far from pleading for mutiny against a general, or disobedience to a king; but when the meanest officer thinks himself injured in his rank, he demands his pass, and will serve no more; neither is he blamed by any prince for so doing. If the officers of that body would have done as much for the honour of their country, sure they would have merited his majesty's esteem, and deserved rewards from the nation. But how they can pretend to be kept up after an action that our ancestors would have thought to deserve not only breaking, but a decimation to precede it, I cannot imagine. I know there are many brave gentlemen among them,
who

who were much grieved at the thing, but they had a bad example from the then commanding officer; and it is to be feared, that his advancement to the place of the greatest military trust and Importance in the kingdom, may, by his majesty's enemies, be imputed to that action.

BUT after all we are told, that if we will keep up standing forces we shall have an act of habeas corpus. This would be a wise bargain: here is a price for our liberty; sure we may expect an immense sum, and a security without exception. No, no, but you will have an act of parliament for the freedom of your persons, though there be never so many standing forces in the kingdom; that is, we shall have the law on our side, and another shall have the force, and then let nature work. If there be no danger that standing forces should violate the law, there is no danger from them.

THERE is no pretence to speak of a cess or land-tax for maintaining forces, before the business of the army be taken into consideration; and one would think, if the army be disbanded, it should not be mentioned at all. Yet it is certain, that such men as would recommend themselves by a pretended loyalty, will not fail to tell us, that we ought to be at the least as liberal to his present majesty, who has redeemed us from popery and slavery, as we were to king James, who would have brought us under both: and though they now pretend, that a cess for life will

not

not be so much as mentioned in the approaching session, we know very well their conduct in that affair will be regulated upon the disposition they find in the parliament to grant or refuse it; and that if they conceive any hopes of obtaining so considerable a jewel to the crown, they will be sure to bring in that affair when least expected.

THE giving his majesty a land-tax during life, and so great a one as that granted to the late king James, with the revenue already settled on him for the same term, makes it impossible for the subject to give more, and consequently is of all those affairs that can come before any parliament the greatest, and of the highest importance; since it tends to the making parliaments less necessary, and consequently to the abolishing them, with the antient constitution of government in this nation.

THOSE who have the honour to advise his present majesty, if they be true lovers of the monarchy, ought to have a care of treading in the former footsteps, and above all, shun to advise him to desire those things of the parliament which king James desired and obtained. It were their duty, by all means, to endeavour a fair understanding, and a continual good correspondence between king and people, which certainly is the only true support of monarchy. Now, there are no occasions of entertaining and increasing that confidence, and those mutual good offices that should, like regular tides, ebb and flow between king and people, greater than those of parliaments.

ments. Endeavours to take away the frequency of parliaments, are endeavours to take away those frequent good offices between king and people. The king stands in need of money, the people of good laws, which their representatives and his great council offer to him, that they may have his sanction, and that he may provide for their due execution. Money may be given at once, for a long time, or for ever; but good laws cannot be so enacted, the occasion and necessity of them discovering itself only from time to time: and if the one go without the other, the mutual good offices, and consequently the mutual confidence between king and people ceases.

It may be farther considered, that the king has the power of calling parliaments; and that by giving him for life all that we can give, we shall make parliaments unnecessary to him. If any man suggest, that it is a crime to suspect, that so good and just a prince, as his present majesty is, will not always do what is for the good of his people; I answer, that I have all the deference, respect, and esteem, for his majesty, that any subject ought to have; but it were a fulsome piece of flattery for any man to say, that he cannot be influenced by bad counsel, or that he is not subject to those frailties of mistake and prejudice, from which no mortal was ever free, and princes always most subject to, through the suggestions and bad offices of men about them.

BUT

BUT let us suppose, that his present majesty will never make the least bad use of this tax; who shall secure us his successor will not? If it be said, that it is only for his present majesty this tax is desired, and that it is in the power of the parliament to refuse it to the successor; I say, with what probability will it, and with what force can it, be refused to him? These men desire it for his present majesty because king James had it, though he made bad use of it; the successor shall desire it because his present majesty had it, and made good use of it; I think his argument is stronger. So that though this be said to be only for the life of his present majesty, yet, upon the matter, it is for ever. And then I need not tell you the consequence, our parliaments shall be abolished, our kings shall become tyrants, and we, of subjects, slaves.

BUT if we look more nearly into this demand, I doubt not it will appear very gross. During the late war, land-taxes were only demanded from year to year, and we gave them cheerfully, in hopes that a few years would put an end to that charge. When we had undoubted reasons to believe there would be a peace, they were demanded to be given for two years; and now God has blessed us with it, if they be demanded during his majesty's life, will not this look as if we were to have a standing army during the same time?

A LAND-TAX, during his majesty's life, is a French taille for that time. And we ought not to forget that we are beginning, to the great advantage of the nation, to make some small progress in trade but if it be not encouraged, and much more if it be nipt in the bud, there is an end of all our hopes. One of the greatest things in trade, is to encourage exportation; and it is known, that the greatest commodity of this kingdom is corn: if there be a land-tax on those whose chief riches consist in corn, they cannot sell so cheap to the merchant, that he can make any profit by exporting it.

As for the arguments of those who are for this tax, I need answer none of them; they are to save the trouble and expence of frequent parliaments; and because the nation did trust king James with this tax, who made bad use of it, (a modest and a sensible argument!) are they not afraid it should be said, that those, who advise the king to ask the same trust king James had, may advise him likewise to the same things, for which king James demanded it? Sure I am, that many who plead for this now, are the same persons who did the like for king James; and as for the expence occasioned by frequent parliaments, I believe there is neither shire nor borrough but will find persons very willing to represent them, without putting them to any charge. I know it is commonly said in this kingdom, that parliaments do more hurt than good; but it is because they
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are never called unless to impose money: will it mend the matter, to lay on at once, and for life, as much as the nation is able to pay? We were getting some good laws for our money, but then we shall be excluded from that benefit.

IN a word, our forefathers had two securities for their liberties and properties, they had both the sword and the purse: the sword antiently was in the hand of the subject, because the armies then were composed of the vassals who depended on the barons. That security is gone; shall we throw the other after it, and thereby, I may very well say, dissolve the constitution and the monarchy? For a government is not only a tyranny, when tyrannically exercised; but also when there is no sufficient caution in the constitution that it may not be exercised tyrannically.

WHEN the parliament has put an end to the affairs before-mentioned, it were to be wished, that this being the first session since the conclusion of the peace, and after so long a war, they would pass some act to ease the minds, and take away the fears and apprehensions of many men who are still obnoxious to the law, of whom the greater part are abroad; and all of them both at home and abroad, for want of an act of indemnity, made desperate, and only fitted to involve others in the same uneasy and distracting circumstances under which they themselves live. But acts of indemnity are the worst and most pernicious of all laws to the well being of any government, un-

less the most notorious offenders be first punished; and in such cases only encouragements to new transgressions, destroying the real security of all government, and effect of all laws, by giving an entire impunity to the attempts against both. So that there seems to be an absolute necessity, both of making an example of the notorious enemies to the liberties of this country, and giving a general pardon to the rest; if we will either secure the government for the future from endeavours to introduce arbitrary power, cut up the party of the late king James by the roots, or quiet the minds of the people, and remove the animosities that may remain in a nation wherein two or more parties have been inflamed against each other, to the ruin of the public liberty, and extinguish the memory of those actions for ever.

WHEN it is confessed and acknowledged, that there have been bold attempts and treacherous practices to destroy the religion, overturn the constitution of government, and suppress the liberty of a nation, and yet no example made of the advisers, and those who have been eminently subservient to such designs: such a people has as much laid the foundation of their own ruin, as if they had declared, that those who shall hereafter engage themselves in the like attempts, need fear no punishment. Upon a revolution, followed by a war, circumstances of affairs may be such, that till the war be at an end, it is not fit to punish great offenders. But there was no reason, nor any well-ground-

grounded political consideration, why immediately, upon the late revolution, the most notorious of those offenders should not have been punished; by which means, we should have been delivered from our worst men, who have since been very bad instruments in affairs, and have terrified the rest by their example: we might then have quieted the minds of the people by an indemnity, brought the nation to a settlement, and prevented the war which ensued in this country. Yet (because in matters of prudence men are of different sentiments) though it should be granted, that during the war it was not fit to make any examples, what pretence can there be now of exempting from punishment those who have been notoriously criminal, both under the late reigns, and under this? which when it is done, what conjuncture of time can be so proper for applying the healing remedy of an act of indemnity and oblivion to the rest, as the present by reason of the peace?

BEFORE the revolution, the court had been in a formed conspiracy against the religion and liberties of this nation; nor was there any art to introduce arbitrary power, or subvert our religion, for which the late reigns wanted willing instruments; and many endeavoured to signalize themselves in the ruin of their country. Yet no man has been made an example, to deter others from the like crimes. It will, I know, be thought hard to mention the punishing of offences com-

mitted so many years ago, when many of the offenders are dead; and some men will judge it fitter to bury all in a general act of oblivion. To this I answer, that having been highly to blame for neglecting hitherto to punish the enemies of our liberty, this ought to oblige us the rather to make an example of those who are still living. And to convince us of this necessity, we need only to consider what crimes those men would not have punished, nor the least example made of any that have been guilty of them; and whether the suffering them to pass unpunished, will not bring a guilt upon the nation which may not easily be expiated. Public and private injuries are of a very different nature; and though we are commanded to forgive the last, yet those who have power and right, are required, under the greatest penalties, to punish the other, especially where the crimes are enormous. But if the parliament should follow the advice of those men, they are not to punish any violent proceedings, illegal and arbitrary imprisonments, fines, banishments, and murders, under pretext of law, that were set on foot, encouraged, and committed by those evil counsellors mentioned in his majesty's declaration, in order to alter the religion and government of this nation, and in place of them to introduce popery and slavery. They are not to punish those who, to recommend themselves to the late kings, by their interest, power, and credit in the parliament, got to be enacted most cruel and unchristian laws,

laws, for persecuting a great part of this nation upon the account of their religious opinions, which they could not quit without violating their consciences: they are not to punish those privy counsellors who went further than those very laws would allow them, in a thousand arbitrary and illegal proceedings, issuing out orders to invade such as dissented from them only in religious matters, with an army composed, for the most part, of barbarous Highlanders, who hunted them from hill to hill, to force them to take arms, that they might have a pretext to destroy them utterly. They are not to punish those who gave orders to impose illegal and unwarrantable oaths upon all persons, even on silly women that might be found travelling in the ordinary road, and to shoot them immediately dead, if they should refuse the same. Nor are they to punish those who put them in execution. Do presbyterians, in particular, imagine, that if they neglect their duty in punishing these men, they will avoid the guilt of the innocent blood shed in those times? Are such things to be pardoned as private injuries? The making out courts of justice, particularly that of the session, to be the instruments of subjecting all men to arbitrary power, are things to be passed over in silence, and no account to be taken of them. Those who advised and drew a proclamation, declaring the late king James his absolute power in express terms, are not to be questioned for it. If the parliament pass over these things without mak-

ing any example of the offenders, they make a precedent for abolishing the punishment of all enormous crimes for ever, since there never can be greater than these. Shall there be no examples made of criminals for enormities of such a general influence and concernment, in a nation where a poor man, for stealing a little food, is, for example's sake, (let what I say be considered is for example's sake) punished with death? If there can be no stop put to the least of crimes, but by the punishment of some of those that are guilty; can there be any remedy against the abettors of arbitrary power, if no example be made of them? Can that government be said to be secure, where there is no punishment, but rewards for conspiracies against its constitution? It is true, that it may be fit to overlook some crimes, wherein extraordinary numbers of men are concerned, but not extraordinary crimes, nor the most guilty of the criminals.

It was thought fit to forbear the punishment of the evil counsellors mentioned in his majesty's declaration for some time; that forbearance has lasted to this day; and we have so little hopes of seeing any discouragement put upon those who shall promote arbitrary government in time to come, by an exemplary punishment of the most notorious offenders under the late reigns, that, notwithstanding many new provocations, and reiterated treasons under this, they have not only hitherto escaped punishment, but have been also encouraged.

ed. For, not long after the revolution, the most considerable of them (I do not speak of those who took arms) entered into new conspiracies against their country, to betray it again to the late king James, and took the oaths to this king, that they might have the better opportunity to bring back the other. Yet, after all this, his majesty was advised to put some of them into the most important places of trust in the kingdom. What are we then to expect, if we shall not now proceed to make some examples, but that they, and men of the like principles, will insinuate themselves into all the places of trust; and have the power as well as the will to throw us into prisons, and, by their pernicious counsels, to betray his present majesty into the same misfortunes that were brought upon the late king? Is it not enough, that the punishment of those, who endeavoured to enslave us under the late reigns, has been delayed till now? Because they have renewed the same practices under this, must it still be delayed, to the end that (as they have already done in the affair of Glenco) they may continue to give his majesty the same bad counsel with which the late kings were poisoned? Now, to pardon them we have this encouragement, that having passed over former crimes, we embolden them to commit new, and to give fresh wounds to that country which has already so often bled under their hands.

WHEN the greatest offenders are punished, an act of indemnity will be as necessary to the well-

being of this nation as peace itself, since there can be no ease or quiet without it. But so little hopes have we of this, that whilst the evil counsellors, against whom his majesty did so justly declare, live at ease, an act, as we are told, is to be brought into the parliament for banishing, during pleasure, many thousands of inconsiderable people who cannot be charged with crimes any way comparable to theirs; and some of them free of the least appearance of any. What construction would the advisers of these things have even those who are best affected to the government put upon them? One might reasonably think that such things may be fit to keep up the party of the late king James, and fright the nation into a belief of the necessity of continuing a standing army, that they may be fit to lead men of estates, or those who have any thing to lose, into snares both at home and abroad (particularly in France, where the late king James is still suffered) by pretending correspondence or conversation with such as may be obnoxious to the law; but no man can suspect the worst of counsellors of such designs. And therefore I confess I am at a stand; for such vast numbers of people were never yet banished for crimes of state: nor does the multitude ever suffer for them, except only in barbarous countries. If it be said, that ill men may have designs against his majesty's life, and therefore ought to be banished; I answer, nothing is more likely to draw on such a mischief, than extraordinary severities used against them.

them. For nothing does so much fit a man for such an attempt, as despair; against which no distance of place can long protect.

My opinion therefore is, that an act of indemnity (excepting only assassins and other notorious criminals, whom we cannot at present reach) is more suitable to our present condition, than an act of banishment: and that to procure the nation so great a blessing, the parliament should proceed, without delay, to the punishing of the greatest criminals, both of this and the last reigns, without which an oblivion will be one of the greatest injuries that can be done to us.

I SHALL only add, that there is ground to believe some men will endeavour to persuade the parliament to take this affair into consideration before all others; because it was the first thing done in the last session of the English parliament; and the bill having past there, almost without debate, they will make use of that as an argument why it should do so here. What the considerations were which moved that parliament to do so, I will not presume to determine, neither is it my business; circumstances of affairs may be different in different nations: sure I am, that in this particular they are different, that a greater number of men, in proportion to the people in each nation, will fall under uneasy circumstances by such an act in Scotland, than has been found to have done in England.

THE SECOND
 DISCOURSE
 Concerning the
 AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND;
 Written in the Year 1698.

THE affairs of which I have spoken in the preceding discourse, are such as the present conjuncture makes a proper subject for the approaching session of parliament: but there are many other things which require no less their care, if the urgent and pressing distresses of the nation be considered. I shall therefore, with all due respect to the parliament, offer my opinion concerning two, which I presume to be of that nature.

THE first thing which I humbly and earnestly propose to that honourable court, is, that they would take into their consideration the condition of so many thousands of our people who are, at this day, dying for want of bread. And to persuade them seriously to apply themselves to so indis-

dispensable a duty, they have all the inducements which those most powerful emotions of the soul, terror and compassion, can produce. Because from unwholsome food diseases are so multiplied among the poor people, that if some course be not taken, this famine may very probably be followed by a plague; and then what man is there, even of those who sit in parliament, that can be sure he shall escape? And what man is there in this nation, if he have any compassion, who must not grudge himself every nice bit, and every delicate morsel he puts in his mouth, when he considers that so many are already dead, and so many at that minute struggling with death, not for want of bread but of grains, which I am credibly informed have been eaten by some families, even during the preceding years of scarcity. And must not every unnecessary branch of our expence, or the least finery in our houses, clothes or equipage, reproach us with our barbarity, so long as people born with natural endowments, perhaps not inferior to our own, and fellow citizens, perish for want of things absolutely necessary to life?

BUT not to insist any more upon the representation of so great a calamity, which, if drawn in proper colours, and only according to the precise truth of things, must cast the minds of all honest men into those convulsions which ought necessarily to be composed before they can calmly consider of a remedy; and because the particulars of this great distress are sufficiently known

to all, I shall proceed to say, that though perhaps upon the great want of bread, occasioned by the continued bad seasons of this and the three preceding years, the evil be greater and more pressing than at any time in our days, yet there have always been in Scotland such numbers of poor, as by no regulations could ever be orderly provided for; and this country has always swarmed with such number of idle vagabonds, as no laws could ever restrain. And indeed, when I considered the many excellent laws enacted by former parliaments for setting the poor to work, particularly those in the time of king James the sixth, with the clauses for putting them in execution, which to me seemed such as could not miss of the end, and yet that nothing was obtained by them, I was amazed, and began to think upon the case of other nations in this particular, persuaded that there was some strange hidden root of this evil which could not be well discovered, unless by observing the conduct of other governments. But, upon reflection, I found them all subject to the same inconveniences, and that in all the countries of Europe there were great numbers of poor, except in Holland, which I knew to proceed from their having the greatest share in the trade of the world. But this not being a remedy for every country, since all cannot pretend to so great a part in trade, and that two or three nations are able to manage the whole commerce of Europe; yet there being a necessity that the poor should every-where be

provided for, unless we will acknowledge the deficiency of all government in that particular, and finding no remedy in the laws or customs of any of the present governments, I began to consider what might be the conduct of the wise antients in that affair. And my curiosity was increased, when, upon reflection, I could not call to mind, that any antient author had so much as mentioned such a thing, as great numbers of poor in any country.

At length I found the original of that multitude of beggars, which now oppresses the world, to have proceeded from churchmen, who, (never failing to confound things spiritual with temporal, and consequently all good order and good government, either through mistake or design) upon the first public establishment of the christian religion, recommended nothing more to masters, in order to the salvation of their souls, than the setting such of their slaves at liberty as would embrace the christian faith, though our Saviour and his apostles had been so far from making use of any temporal advantages to persuade eternal truths, and so far from invading any man's property, by promising him heaven for it, that the apostle Paul says expressly, ' In whatever condition of life every one is called to the christian faith, in that let him remain. Art thou called being a slave? Be not concerned for thy condition; but even though thou mightest be free, chuse to continue in it. For he who is called, whilst a slave, be-

‘ becomes the freeman of the Lord ; and likewise
 ‘ he that is called, whilst a freeman, becomes
 ‘ the slave of Christ, who has paid a price for
 ‘ you, that you might not be the slaves of men.
 ‘ Let every one therefore, brethren, in whatever
 ‘ condition he is called, in that remain, in the
 ‘ fear of God.’ That the interpretation I put up-
 on this passage, different from our translation,
 is the true meaning of the apostle, not only the
 authority of the Greek fathers, and genuine signifi-
 cation of the Greek particles, but the whole con-
 text, chiefly the first and last words (which seem
 to be repeated to inforce and determine such a
 meaning) clearly demonstrate. And the reason
 why he recommends to them rather to continue
 slaves (if they have embraced the christian faith in
 that condition) seems to be, that it might appear
 they did not embrace it for any worldly advan-
 tage, as well as to destroy a doctrine which, even
 in his days, began to be preached, that slavery
 was inconsistent with the christian religion ; since
 such a doctrine would have been a great stop to
 the progress of it. What the apostle means by
 saying, we ought not to be the slaves of men, I
 shall shew hereafter.

THIS disorder, of giving liberty to great num-
 bers of slaves upon their profession of Christianity,
 grew to such a height, even in the time of Con-
 stantine the great, that the cities of the empire
 found themselves burdened with an infinite num-
 ber of men, who had no other estate but their li-
 berty,

berty, of whom the greatest part would not work, and the rest had been bred to no profession. This obliged Constantine to make edicts in favour of beggars; and from that time, at the request of the bishops, hospitals and alms-houses, not formerly known in the world, began to be established. But upon the rise of the Mahometan religion, which was chiefly advanced by giving liberty to all their slaves, the Christians were so molested by the continual rebellion of theirs, that they were at length forced to give liberty to them all; which, it seems, the churchmen then looked upon as a thing necessary to preserve the christian religion, since in many of the writings, by which masters gave freedom to their slaves, it is expressly said, they did so, to save their own souls.

THIS is the rise of that great mischief, under which, to the undoing of the poor, all the nations of Europe have ever since groaned. Because in antient times, so long as a man was the riches and part of the possession of another, every man was provided for in meat, clothes, and lodging; and not only he, but (in order to increase that riches) his wife and children also: whereas provisions by hospitals, alms-houses, and the contributions of churches or parishes, have, by experience, been found to increase numbers of those that live by them. And the liberty every idle and lazy person has of burdening the society in which he lives, with his maintenance, has increased their numbers, to the weakning and impoverishing of it:

it: for he needs only to say, that he cannot get work, and then he must be maintained by charity. And, as I have shewn before, no nation, except one only, (which is in extraordinary circumstances) does provide, by public work-houses, for their poor: the reason of which seems to be, that public work-houses for such vast numbers of people, are impracticable, except in those places where (besides a vast trade to vend the manufactured goods) there is an extraordinary police, and that though the Hollanders, by reason of the steadiness of their temper, as well as of their government, being a commonwealth, may be constant to their methods of providing for the poor; yet in a nation, and under a government like that of France, though vast public work-houses may be for a while kept in order, it will not be long before they fall into confusion and ruin. And indeed (next to Plato's republic, which chiefly consists in making the whole society live in common) there is nothing more impracticable than to provide for so great a part of every nation by public work-houses. Whereas, when such an oeconomy comes under the inspection of every master of a family, and that he himself is to reap the profit of the right management; the thing not only turns to a far better account, but, by reason of his power to sell those workmen to others who may have use for them, when he himself has a mind to alter his course of life, the profit is permanent to the society; nor can such an oeconomy,

my, or any such management ever fall into confusion.

I DOUBT not, that what I have said will meet, not only with all the misconstruction and obloquy, but all the disdain, fury and out-cries, of which either ignorant magistrates, or proud, lazy, and miserable people are capable. Would I bring back slavery into the world? Shall men of immortal souls, and by nature equal to any, be sold as beasts? Shall they and their posterity be for ever subjected to the most miserable of all conditions; the inhuman barbarity of masters, who may beat, mutilate, torture, starve, or kill, so great a number of mankind at pleasure? Shall the far greater part of the commonwealth be slaves, not that the rest may be free, but tyrants over them? With what face can we oppose the tyranny of princes, and recommend such opposition as the highest virtue, if we make ourselves tyrants over the greatest part of mankind? Can any man, from whom such a thing has once escaped, ever offer to speak for liberty? But they must pardon me if I tell them, that I regard not names, but things; and that the misapplication of names has confounded every thing. We are told there is not a slave in France; that when a slave sets his foot upon French ground, he becomes immediately free: and I say, that there is not a freeman in France, because the king takes away any part of any man's property at his pleasure; and that, let him do what he will to any man, there is no remedy.

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The Turks tell us, there are no slaves among them, except Jews, Moors, or Christians; and who is there that knows not, they are all slaves to the grand Seignior, and have no remedy against his will? A slave properly is one, who is absolutely subjected to the will of another man without any remedy: and not one that is only subjected under certain limitations, and upon certain accounts necessary for the good of the commonwealth, though such an one may go under that name. And the confounding these two conditions of men, by a name common to both, has, in my opinion, been none of the least hardships put upon those who ought to be named servants. We are all subjected to the laws; and the easier or harder conditions imposed by them upon the several ranks of men in any society, make not the distinction that is between a freeman and a slave.

So that the condition of slaves among the antients, will, upon serious consideration, appear to be only a better provision in their governments than any we have, that no man might want the necessities of life, nor any person, able to work, be burdensome to the commonwealth. And they wisely judged of the inconveniences that befall the most part of poor people, when they are all abandoned to their own conduct. I know that these two conditions of men were confounded under the same name, as well by the antients as they are by us; but the reason was, that having often taken in war the subjects of absolute monarchs, they

they thought they did them no wrong if they did not better their condition: and, as in some of their governments, the condition of slaves was under a worse regulation than in others, so in some of them it differed very little, if at all, from the condition of such a slave as I have defined. But I do not approve, and therefore will not go about to defend any of those bad and cruel regulations about slaves. And because it would be tedious and needless to pursue the various conditions of them in several ages and governments, it shall be enough for me to explain under what conditions they might be both good and useful, as well as I think they are necessary in a well-regulated government.

FIRST then, their masters should not have power over their lives, but the life of the master should go for the life of the servant. The master should have no power to mutilate or torture him; that in such cases, the servant should not only have his freedom (which alone would make him burdensome to the public) but a sufficient yearly pension so long as he should live from his said master. That he, his wife and children, should be provided for in clothes, diet, and lodging. That they should be taught the principles of morality and religion; to read and be allowed the use of certain books: that they should not work upon sundays, and be allowed to go to church: that in every thing, except their duty as servants, they should not be under the will of their masters, but the protection of the law: that when these
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servants grow old, and are no more useful to their masters, (lest upon that account they should be ill used) hospitals should be provided for them by the public: that if, for their good and faithful service, any master give them their freedom, he should be obliged to give them likewise wherewithal to subsist, or put them in a way of living without being troublesome to the commonwealth: that they should wear no habit or mark to distinguish them from hired servants: that any man should be punished who gives them the opprobrious name of slave. So, except it were that they could possess nothing, and might be sold, which really would be but an alienation of their service without their consent, they would live in a much more comfortable condition (wanting nothing necessary for life) than those who, having a power to possess all things, are very often in want of every thing, to such a degree, that many thousands of them come to starve for hunger.

It will be said, that notwithstanding all these regulations, they may be most barbarously used by their masters, either by beating them outrageously, making them work beyond measure, suffer cold or hunger, or neglecting them in their sickness. I answer, that as long as the servant is of an age not unfit for work, all these things are against the interest of the master: that the most brutal man will not use his beast ill only out of a humour; and that if such inconveniences do sometimes fall out, it proceeds, for the most part, from
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the perverseness of the servant: that all inconveniences cannot be obviated by any government; that we must chuse the least; and that to prevent them in the best manner possible, a particular magistrate might be instituted for that end.

THE condition of such a servant is to be esteemed free; because in the most essential things he is only subject to the laws, and not to the will of his master, who can neither take away his life, mutilate, torture, or restrain him from the comforts of wife and children: but on the other hand, for the service he does, is obliged to ease him of the inconveniences of marriage, by providing for him, his wife, and children, clothes, food, and lodging: and the condition of a bashaw, or great lord, under arbitrary government (who, for the sake, and from a necessity of what they call government, has joined to the quality of a slave the office of a tyrant, and imagines himself a man of quality, if not a little prince, by such pre-eminence) is altogether slavish; since he is under the protection of no law, no not so much as to his life, or the honour of his wife and children; and is subjected to stronger temptations than any man, of being a slave to men in St. Paul's sense, which is a worse sort of slavery than any I have yet mentioned; that is, of being subservient to, and an instrument of the lusts of his master the tyrant: since, if he refuse slavishly to obey, he must lose his office, and perhaps his life. And indeed men of all ranks, living under arbitrary government,

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(so much preached and recommended by the far greater part of churchmen) being really under the protection of no law, what ever may be pretended, are not only slaves, as I have defined before, but by having no other certain remedy in any thing against the lust and passions of their superiors, except suffering or compliance, lie under the most violent temptations of being slaves in the worst sense, and of the only sort that is inconsistent with the christian religion. A condition, whatever men may imagine, so much more miserable than that of servants protected by the laws in all things necessary for the subsistence of them and their posterity, that there is no comparison.

I SHALL now proceed to the great advantages the antients received from this sort of servants. By thus providing for their poor, and making every man useful to the commonwealth, they were not only able to perform those great and stupendous public works, high-ways, aqueducts, common-shores, walls of cities, sea-ports, bridges, monuments for the dead, temples, amphitheatres, theatres, places for all manner of exercises and education, baths, courts of justice, market-places, public walks, and other magnificent works for the use and conveniency of the public, with which Egypt, Asia, Greece, Italy, and other countries were filled; and to adorn them with stately pillars and obelisks, curious statues, most exquisite sculpture and painting: but every particular man might indulge himself in any kind of finery and mag-

magnificence; not only because he had slaves to perform it according to his fancy, but because all the poor being provided for, there could be no crime in making unnecessary expences, which are always contrary, not only to christian charity, but common humanity, as long as any poor man wants bread. For though we think that in making those expences, we employ the poor; and that in building costly houses, and furnishing them, making fine gardens, rich stuffs, laces, and embroideries for apparel, the poor are set to work; yet so long as all the poor are not provided for, (though a man cannot reproach himself in particular why it is not done) and that there is any poor family in a starving condition, it is against common humanity (and, no doubt, would have been judged to be so by the antients) for any man to indulge himself in things unnecessary, when others want what is absolutely necessary for life, especially, since the furnishing of those things to them does employ workmen as well as our unnecessary expences. So that the antients, without giving the least check to a tender compassion for the necessities of others (a virtue so natural to great minds, so nicely to be preserved and cherished) might not only adorn their public buildings with all the refinements of art, but likewise beautify their private houses, villas, and gardens with the greatest curiosity. But we, by persisting in the like, and other unnecessary expences, while all the poor are not provided for, (example, va-

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nity, and the love of pleasure, being predominant in us) have not only effaced all the vestiges of christian charity, but banished natural compassion from among us, that without remorse we might continue in them.

THIS explains to us by what means so much virtue and simplicity of manners could subsist in the cities of Greece, and the lesser Asia, in the midst of so great curiosity and refinement in the arts of magnificence and ornament. For in ancient times great riches, and consequently bad arts to acquire them, were not necessary for those things; because if a man possessed a moderate number of slaves, he might chuse to employ them in any sort of magnificence, either private or public, for use or ornament, as he thought fit, whilst he himself lived in the greatest simplicity, having neither coaches nor horses to carry him, as in triumph, through the city; nor a family in most things composed like that of a prince, and a multitude of idle servants to consume his estate. Women were not then intolerably expensive, but wholly employed in the care of domestic affairs, Neither did the furniture of their houses amount to such vast sums as with us; but was for the most part wrought by their slaves.

ANOTHER advantage which the antients had by this sort of servants, was, that they were not under that uneasiness, and unspeakable vexation, which we suffer by our hired servants, who are never bred to be good for any thing, though most
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of the slaves amongst the antients were. And though we bestow the greatest pains or cost to educate one of them from his youth, upon the least cross word he leaves us. So that it is more than probable this sort of servants growing every day worse, the unspeakable trouble arising from them, without any other consideration, will force the world to return to the former.

AMONG the antients, any master, who had the least judgement or discretion, was served with emulation by all his slaves, that those who best performed their duty might obtain their liberty from him. A slave, though furnished with every thing necessary, yet possessing nothing, had no temptation to cheat his master; whereas a hired servant, whilst he remains unmarried, will cheat his master of what may be a stock to him when married; and if after his marriage he continue to serve his master, he will be sure to cheat him much more. When the antients gave freedom to a slave, they were obliged to give him wherewithal to subsist, or to put him into a way of living. And how well and faithfully they were served by those they had made free, (whom, from a long experience of their probity and capacity, they often made stewards of their estates) all antient history does testify. Now, we having no regular way to enable a servant to provide sufficient maintenance for his family, when he becomes independent on his master, his bare wages (out of which he is for the most part to provide himself

with many necessaries for daily use) not being enough for that purpose, and no way left but to cheat his master, we ought not to expect any probity or fidelity in our servants, because, for want of order in this point, we subject them to such strong temptation.

I MIGHT insist upon many other advantages the antients had in the way they were served, if, to persuade the expedient I propose, I were not to make use of stronger arguments than such as can be drawn from any advantages; I mean those of necessity.

THERE are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church-boxes, with others, who, by living upon bad food, fall into various diseases) two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress, yet, in all times, there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature; fathers incestuously accompanying with their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister. No magistrate could ever discover, or be informed, which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized.

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Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, (who, if they give not bread, or some kind of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them) but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together.

THESE are such outrageous disorders, that it were better for the nation they were sold to the galleys or West-Indies, than that they should continue any longer to be a burden and curse upon us. But numbers of people being great riches, every government is to blame that makes not a right use of them. The wholesomeness of our air, and healthfulness of our climate, affords us great numbers of people, which, in so poor a country, can never be all maintained by manufactures, or public work-houses, or any other way, but that which I have mentioned.

AND to shew that former parliaments struggling with this, otherwise insuperable, difficulty, have, by the nature of the thing, been, as it were, forced upon remedies tending towards what I have proposed: by an act of parliament in the year

1579, any subject of sufficient estate is allowed to take the child of any beggar, and educate him for his service, which child is obliged to serve such a master for a certain term of years; and that term of years extended by another act made in the year 1597, for life. So that here is a great advance towards my proposition; but either from some mistake about christian or civil liberty, they did not proceed to consider the necessity of continuing that service in the children of such servants, and giving their masters a power of alienating that service to whom they should think fit. The reason for the first of these is, that being married in that sort of service, their masters must of necessity maintain their wife and children, and so ought to have the same right to the service of the children as of the father. And the reason for the power of alienation is, that no man is sure of continuing always in one sort of employment; and having educated a great many such children when he was in an employment that required many servants, if afterwards he should be obliged to quit it for one that required few or none, he could not, without great injustice, be deprived of the power of alienating their service to any other man, in order to reimburse to himself the money he had bestowed upon them; especially since the setting them at liberty would only bring a great burden on the public.

Now, what I would propose upon the whole matter is, that for some present remedy of so great a mischief, every man, of a certain estate in this nation,

tion, should be obliged to take a proportionable number of those vagabonds, and either employ them in hedging and ditching his grounds, or any other sort of work in town and country; or if they happen to be children and young, that he should educate them in the knowlege of some mechanical art, that so every man of estate might have a little manufacture at home which might maintain those servants, and bring great profit to the master, as they did to the antients, whose revenue, by the manufactures of such servants, was much more considerable than that of their lands. Hospitals and alms-houses ought to be provided for the sick, lame, and decrepit, either by rectifying old foundations, or instituting new. And for example and terror, three or four hundred of the most notorious of those villains, which we call jockies, might be presented by the government to the state of Venice, to serve in their gallies against the common enemy of Christendom.

BUT these things, when once resolved, must be executed with great address, diligence, and severity; for that sort of people is so desperately wicked, such enemies of all work and labour, and, which is yet more amazing, so proud, in esteeming their own condition above that which they will be sure to call slavery; that unless prevented by the utmost industry and diligence, upon the first publication of any orders necessary for putting in execution such a design, they will rather die with hunger in caves and dens, and murder

der their young children, than appear abroad to have them and themselves taken into such a kind of service. And the Highlands are such a vast and unsearchable retreat for them, that if strict and severe order be not taken to prevent it, upon such an occasion these vagabonds will only rob as much food as they can out of the low-country, and retire to live upon it in those mountains, or run into England, till they think the storm of our resolutions is over, which, in all former times, they have seen to be vain.

NOR indeed can there be a thorough reformation in this affair, so long as the one half of our country, in extent of ground, is possessed by a people who are all gentlemen, only because they will not work; and who, in every thing, are more contemptible than the vilest slaves, except that they always carry arms, because, for the most part, they live upon robbery. This part of the country, being an inexhaustible source of beggars, has always broke all our measures relating to them. And it were to be wished, that the government would think fit to transplant that handful of people, and their masters (who have always disturbed our peace) into the low-country, and people the Highlands from hence, rather than they should continue to be a perpetual occasion of mischief to us. It is in vain to say, that whatever people are planted in those mountains, they will quickly turn as savage, and as great beggars as the present inhabitants; for the mountains of the
Alps

Alps are greater, more desert, and more condemned to snows than those of the Highlands of Scotland, which are every-where cut by friths and lakes, the richest in fishing of any in the world, affording great conveniences for transportation of timber and any other goods; and yet the Alps, which have no such advantages, are inhabited every-where by a civilized, industrious, honest, and peaceable people: but they had no lords to hinder them from being civilized, to discourage industry, and incourage thieving, and to keep them beggars that they might be the more dependent; or when they had any that oppressed them, as in that part of the mountains that belongs to the Swifs, they knocked them on the head.

LET us now compare the condition of our present vagabonds with that of servants under the conditions which I have proposed, and we shall see the one living under no law of God, man, or nature, polluted with all manner of abominations; and though in so little expectation of the good things of another life, yet in the worst condition of this, and sometimes starved to death in time of extraordinary want. The other, though sometimes they may fall under a severe master (who, nevertheless, may neither kill, mutilate, nor torture them, and may be likewise restrained from using them very ill by the magistrate I mentioned) are always sure to have food, clothes, and lodging; and have this advantage above other men, that, without any care or pains taken by them,

these necessaries are likewise secured to their wives and children. They are provided for in sickness, their children are educated, and all of them under all the inducements, encouragements, and obligations possible to live quiet, innocent, and virtuous lives. They may also hope, if they shew an extraordinary affection, care, and fidelity, in the service of their master, that not only they and their families shall have their intire freedom, but a competency to live, and perhaps the estate of the master intrusted to their care. Now, if we will consider the advantages to the nation by the one, and the disadvantages arising from the other sort of men, we shall evidently see, that as the one is an excessive burden, curiè, and reproach to us, so the other may enrich the nation, and adorn this country with public works beyond any in Europe, which shall not take the like methods of providing for their poor.

THIS proposal, I hope, may be a remedy, not only to that intolerable plague of idle vagabonds who infest the nation; but, by providing a more regular maintenance for them, go a great way towards the present relief of other poor people who have been oppressed by them. That which follows is calculated to remove the principal and original cause of the poverty which all the commons of this nation ly under, as well as those straitening difficulties in which men of estates are, by our present method of husbandry, inevitably involved.

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THE causes of the present poverty and misery, in which the commonalty of Scotland live, are many, yet they are all to be imputed to our own bad conduct and mismanagement of our affairs. It is true, trade being of late years vastly increased in Europe, the poverty of any nation is always imputed to their want of that advantage. And though our soil be barren, yet our seas being the richest of any in the world, it may be thought that the cause of all our poverty has been the neglect of trade, and chiefly of our own fishing: nevertheless, were I to assign the principal and original source of our poverty, I should place it in the letting of our lands at so excessive a rate, as makes the tenant poorer even than his servant, whose wages he cannot pay; and involves, in the same misery, day-labourers, tradesmen, and the lesser merchants who live in the country villages and towns; and thereby influences no less the great towns and wholesale merchants, makes the master have a troublesome and ill paid rent, his lands not improved by inclosure or otherwise, but, for want of horses and oxen fit for labour, everywhere run out and abused.

THE condition of the lesser freeholders or heritors, as we call them, is not much better than that of our tenants; for they have no stocks to improve their lands, and living not as husbandmen but as gentlemen, they are never able to attain any: besides this, the unskilfulness of their wretched and half-starved servants is such, that their lands are

no better cultivated than those laboured by beggarly tenants. And though a gentleman of estate take a farm into his own hands, yet servants are so unfaithful or lazy, and the country people such enemies of all manner of inclosure, that, after having struggled with innumerable difficulties, he at last finds it impossible for him to alter the ordinary bad methods, whilst the rest of the country continues in them.

THE places in this country, which produce sheep and black cattle, have no provision for them in winter during the snows, having neither hay nor straw, nor any inclosure to shelter them or the grass from the cold easterly winds in the spring; so that the beasts are in a dying condition, and the grass consumed by those destructive winds, till the warm weather, about the middle of June, come to the relief of both. To all this may be added the letting of farms in most part of those grazing countries every year by roop or auction. But our management in the countries cultivated by tillage is much worse, because the tenant pays his rent in grain, wheat, barley or oats: which is attended with many inconveniences, and much greater disadvantages than a rent paid in money.

MONEY rent has a yearly balance in it; for, if the year be scarce, all sorts of grain yield the greater price; and if the year be plentiful, there is the greater quantity of them to make money. Now, a rent paid in corn has neither a yearly, nor any balance at all; for if a plentiful year af-
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ford a superplus, the tenant can make but little of it; but if the year be scarce, he falls short in the payment of his corn, and, by reason of the price it bears, can never clear that debt by the rates of a plentiful year, by which means he breaks, and contributes to ruin his master. The rent being altogether in corn, the grounds must be altogether in tillage; which has been the ruin of all the best countries in Scotland. The carriage of corn paid for rent, to which many tenants are obliged, being often to remote places, and at unseasonable times, destroys their horses, and hinders their labour. And the hazard of sending the corn by sea to the great towns, endangers the loss of the whole. The master runs a double risk for his rent, from the merchant as well as the tenant; and the merchant making a thousand difficulties at the delivering of the corn if the price be fallen, the bargain sometimes ends in a suit at law. The selling of corn is become a thing so difficult, that besides the cheats used in that sort of commerce, sufficient to disgust any honest man, the brewers, bakers, and sometimes the merchants who send it abroad, do so combine together, that the gentleman is obliged to lay it up, of which the trouble as well as loss is great. This causes him to borrow money for the supply of his present occasions, and is the beginning of most mens debts. We may add to this, that by a rent in corn, a man comes to have one year a thousand pound rent, and the next perhaps but six hundred, so that he
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never can make any certain account for his expence or way of living; that having one year a thousand pound to spend, he cannot easily restrain himself to six hundred the next; that he spends the same quantity of corn (and in some places where such things are delivered instead of rent) hay, straw, poultry, sheep, and oxen, in a dear, as in a plentiful year, which he would not do if he was obliged to buy them. Now, the tenant in a plentiful year wastes, and in a scarce year starves: so that no man of any substance will take a farm in Scotland; but every beggar, if he has got half a dozen wretched horses, and as many oxen, and can borrow corn to sow, pretends to be a tenant in places where they pay no other rent than corn.

I KNOW there are many objections made to what has been said concerning the advantages which a rent paid in money has above one paid in corn; but certainly they are all so frivolous, that every man, upon a little reflection, may answer them to himself. For the chief of them are, either that the tenant will squander away money when he gets it into his hands; or that the master can get a better price for the corn by selling it in gross to merchants in the adjacent towns, or else by sending it to be sold at a great distance. To the first I answer, that no substantial man will squander away money because he has got it into his hands, though such beggars as we now have for tenants might be apt to do so. And

to the second, that the hazard of sending corn from one place of the kingdom to another by sea, and the prejudice the tenants suffer from long carriages by land, do in part balance the supposed advantage; besides, if those wholesale bargains were not so frequently made, nor the corn so often carried to be sold at the great towns, the merchants would be obliged to send to the country markets to buy, and the prices in them would rise. In short, the changing of money-rent into corn has been the chief cause of racking all the rents to that excessive rate they are now advanced. And upon reflection it will soon appear, that the turning of money-rents into rents of corn has been the invention of some covetous wretches, who have been the occasion that all masters now live under the same uneasiness, and constant care, which they at first, out of covetousness, created to themselves; and all to get as much as was possible from poor tenants, who, by such means, are made miserable, and are so far from improving, that they only run out and spoil the ground, ruin their neighbours by borrowing, and at length break for considerable sums, though at first they were no better than beggars.

THE method of most other countries is, that all rents are paid in money; that masters receiving a fine, grant long leases of their grounds at easy rents: but this supposes the tenant a man of considerable substance, who cannot only give a fine, but has wherewithal to stock, and also to
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improve his farm. But in Scotland no such men are willing to take farms; nor in truth are the masters willing to let them, as they do in other countries. And though the masters may pretend, that if they could find substantial tenants, they would let their grounds as they do in other places; and men of substance, that if they could have farms upon such conditions, they would turn tenants; yet we see evident marks of the little probability there is that any such thing can be brought about without a general regulation. For in the west and north countries, where they let land in feu, or fee, the superiors are so hard, that besides the yearly feu-duty, they make the feuer pay, at his first entrance, the whole intrinsic value of the land; and the people, though substantial men, are fools and slaves enough to make such bargains. And in the same countries, when they let a small parcel of land to a tradesman, they let it not for what the land is worth, but what both the land and his trade is worth. And indeed it is next to an impossibility to alter a general bad custom in any nation, without a general regulation, because of inveterate bad dispositions and discouragements, with which the first beginnings of reformations are always attended. Besides, alterations that are not countenanced by the public authority, proceed slowly; and if they chance to meet with any check, men soon return to their former bad methods.

THE condition then of this nation, chiefly by this abuse of racking the lands, is brought to such extremity, as makes all the commonalty miserable, and the landlords, if possible, the greater slaves, before they can get their rents and reduce them into money. And because this evil is arrived to a greater height with us, than, I believe, was ever known in any other place; and that, as I have said, we are in no disposition to practise the methods of most other countries, I think we ought to find out some new one which may surmount all difficulties, since in things of this nature divers methods may be proposed very practicable, and much better than any that hitherto have been in use.

I KNOW, that if, to a law prohibiting all interest for money, another were joined, that no man should possess more land than so much as he could cultivate by servants, the whole money, as well as people of this nation, would be presently employed, either in cultivating lands, or in trade and manufactures; that the country would be quickly improved to the greatest height of which the soil is capable, since it would be cultivated by all the rich men of the nation; and that there would still be vast stocks remaining to be employed in trade and manufactures. But to oblige a man of a great estate in land to sell all, except perhaps two hundred pounds sterling a year (which he might cultivate by his servants) and to employ the whole money produced by the sale of the rest,
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in a thing so uncertain as he would judge trade to be, and for which it is like he might have no disposition or genius, being a thing impracticable; and also to employ the small stocks of minors, widows, and other women unmarried, in trade or husbandry, a thing of too great hazard for them; I would propose a method for our relief, by joining to the law prohibiting all interest of money, and to the other, that no man should possess more land than so much as he cultivates by his servants, a third law, obliging all men that possess lands under the value of two hundred pounds sterling clear profits yearly, to cultivate them by servants, and pay yearly the half of the clear profits to such persons as cultivating land worth two hundred pounds sterling a year, or above, shall buy such rents of them at twenty years purchase. The project, in its full extent, may be comprehended in these following articles.

ALL interest of money to be forbidden.

No man to possess more land than he cultivates by servants.

EVERY man, cultivating land under the value of two hundred pounds sterling clear profits a year, to pay yearly the half of the clear profits to some other man who shall buy that rent at twenty years purchase; and, for his security, shall be preferred to all other creditors.

No man to buy or possess those rents, unless he cultivate land to the value at least of two hundred pounds sterling clear profits yearly.

MINORS,

MINORS, women unmarried, and persons absent upon a public account, may buy or possess such rents, though they cultivate no lands.

By the first article, discharging all interest of money, most men who have small sums at interest will be obliged to employ it in trade, or the improvement of land.

By the second, that no man is to possess more land, than so much as he cultivates by his servants, the whole land of the kingdom will come into the hands of the richest men; at least there will be no land cultivated by any man who is not the possessor of it. And if he have a greater estate than what he cultivates, he may lay out money upon improvements; or if he have bought a small possession, though he may have no more money left, he may, by selling one half of the rent, procure a sum considerable enough, both to stock and improve it. So that, in a few years, the country will be every-where inclosed and improved to the greatest height, the plough being every-where in the hand of the possessor. Then servants, day-labourers, tradesmen, and all sorts of merchants, will be well paid, and the whole commons live plentifully, because they will all be employed by men of substance: the ground, by inclosure, and other improvements, will produce the double of what it now does; and the race of horses and black cattle will be much mended.

By the other articles; that no man, cultivating land under the value of two hundred pounds sterling

ling clear profits yearly, can purchase rents upon land from any other man; but is obliged to pay yearly the half of the clear profits, to such persons as shall buy them at twenty years purchase; and that only those who cultivate land worth, at least, two hundred pounds sterling a year, can buy such rents; the men of great land estates having sold all their lands, except so much as may yield two hundred pounds sterling yearly, or so much above that value as they shall think fit to cultivate, may secure, if they please, the whole money they receive for their lands, upon those rents which the lesser possessors are obliged to sell. And so those who had formerly their estates in lands ill cultivated, and corn-rents ill paid, as well as the other three sorts of persons excepted from the general rule, and mentioned in the last article, will have a clear rent in money coming in without trouble, for payment of which they are to be secured in the lands of the said lesser possessors before all creditors. The reason of excepting three sorts of persons before-mentioned from the general rule, is evident; because, as has been said, it were unreasonable to oblige minors, or women unmarried, to venture their small stocks in trade or husbandry: and much more that those who are absent upon a public account, should be obliged to have any stock employed that way, since they cannot inspect either.

THE small possessors, by this project, are not wronged in any thing; for if they are obliged to

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pay a rent to others, they receive the value of it. And this rent will put them in mind, not to live after the manner of men of great estates, but as husbandmen, which will be no way derogatory to their quality, however antient their family may be.

THE method to put this project in execution is, first to enact, that interest for money should fall next year from six per cent. to five, and so on, falling every year one per cent. till it cease: and to make a law, that all those who at present possess lands under the value of two hundred pounds sterling clear profits yearly, should cultivate them by servants, and sell the half of the clear profits at twenty years purchase to the first minor, woman unmarried, or person absent upon a public account, who should offer money for them; and in default of such persons presenting themselves to buy, they should be obliged to sell such rents to any other persons qualified as above: and likewise to make another law, that whoever possesses lands at present to the value of two hundred pounds sterling clear profits yearly, or more, should at least take so much of them as may amount to that value, into their own hands. This being done, the yearly falling of the interest of money would force some of those who might have money at interest, to take land for it: others calling for their money, would buy estates of the landed men, who are to sell all except so much as they cultivate themselves: and the prohi-

hibition of interest producing many small possessors, would afford abundance of rents upon land to be bought by rich men ; of which many might probably be paid out of those very lands they themselves formerly possessed. So that all sorts of men would, in a little time, fall into that easy method for their affairs, which is proposed by the project.

WHAT the half of the yearly clear profits of any small possessors may be, the usual valuation of lands, in order to public taxes, which, because of improvements, must be frequently made, will ascertain.

BUT it will be said, that before any such thing can every-where take place in this nation, all tithes, or tithes, and all sorts of superiorities, must be transacted for, and sold ; that the tenures of all lands must be made allodial, to the end that every man may be upon an equal foot with another ; that this project, in order to its execution, does suppose things, which though perhaps they would be great blessings to the nation upon many accounts, and in particular by taking away the seeds of most law-suits, and the obstructions to all sorts of improvements ; yet are in themselves as great and considerable as the project itself.

INDEED I must acknowlege, that any thing calculated for a good end is, since we must express it so, almost always clogged with things of the same nature: for as all bad, so all good things are chained together, and do support one another.

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But that there is any difficulty, to a legislative power, that is willing to do good, of putting either this project, or the things last named in execution, I believe no man can shew. Sure I am, that it never was, nor can be, the interest of any prince or commonwealth, that any subject should in any manner depend upon another subject: and that it is the interest of all good governments at least to encourage a good sort of husbandry.

I KNOW these proposals, by some men who aim at nothing but private interest, will be looked upon as visionary: it is enough for me, that in themselves, and with regard to the nature of the things, they are practicable; but if, on account of the indisposition of such men to receive them, they be thought impracticable, it is not to be accounted strange; since, if that indisposition ought only to be considered, every thing directed to a good end is such.

MANY other proposals might be made to the parliament for the good of this nation, where every thing is so much amiss, and the public good so little regarded. Amongst other things, to remove the present seat of the government, might deserve their consideration: for as the happy situation of London has been the principal cause of the glory and riches of England, so the bad situation of Edinburgh has been one great occasion of the poverty and uncleanness in which the greater part of the people of Scotland live.

A PROPOSAL likewise for the better education of our youth would be very necessary: and I must confess I know no part of the world where education is upon any tolerable foot. But perhaps I have presumed too much in offering my opinion upon such considerable matters as those which I have treated.

SINCE I finished the preceding discourses, I am informed, that if the present parliament will not comply with the design of continuing the army, they shall immediately be dissolved, and a new one called. At least those of the presbyterian persuasion, who expect no good from a new parliament, are to be frighted with the dissolution of the present, (which has established their church-government) and by that means induced to use their utmost endeavours with the members for keeping up the army, and promote the designs of ill men: but I hope no presbyterian will ever be for evil things that good may come of them; since thereby they may draw a curse upon themselves instead of a blessing. They will certainly consider, that the interest which they ought to embrace, as well upon the account of prudence, as of justice and duty, is that of their country; and will not hearken to the insinuations of ill men who may abuse them, and when they have obtained the continuation of the army, endeavour to persuade his majesty and the parliament, to alter the present government of the church, by telling them,

them, that presbyterian government is, in its nature, opposite to monarchy; that they maintain a rebellious principle of defensive arms, and that a church government more suitable and subservient to monarchy ought to be established.

Now, if at this time the presbyterians be true to the interest of their country, all those who love their country, though they be not of that persuasion, will stand by them in future parliaments, when they shall see that they oppose all things tending to arbitrary power: but if they abandon and betray their country, they will fall unpitied. They must not tell me, that their church can never fall, since it is the true church of God. If it be the true church of God, it needs no crooked arts to support it. But I hope they will not deny that it may fall under persecution; which they will deserve, if they go along with the least ill thing to maintain it.

them, that Presbyterian government is, in its nature, opposite to monarchy; that they maintain a religious principle of defensive arms, and that a such government more liberal and independent is necessarily ought to be established.

Now, if at this time the Presbyterians be true to the interest of their country, all those who love their country, though they be not of the profession, will stand by them in future engagements, when they fall for that they oppose all things tending to a binary power; but if they abandon and betray their country, they will be forsaken. They must not tell me that the church can never fall, since it is the true church of God. It is the true church of God, it is not looked on as to support. But I hope that they will be true to their duty and under persecution will be true to their duty. If they go along with the king in his to the contrary.

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D I S C O U R S E

Concerning the

A F F A I R S

O F

S P A I N;

Written in the month of July, 1698.

Naples, 1698.

A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

WARRIORS

of

ZEPHANIAH

Preached in the month of July 1693.

1693

ADVERTISEMENT*.

I HAVE compos'd the following discourse concerning the declension of the affairs of the Spanish monarchy, the proper methods of reforming its disorders, the interests of the princes who pretend to that crown, and to shew with what facility any prince, who succeeds to it, might make a very great progress towards the empire of the world; not with a view of favouring the establishment of a government so hurtful to good manners, and so destructive of the general happiness of mankind, as an universal one is, and as all great ones, whether republics or monarchies, in which power and riches are grown to an excessive height, cannot fail to be; but in order to awaken all other princes and states, that, as they have the justest reason, they may be on their guard against whoever aspires to it, so as to discover, in time, such ambitious views, and avert from the world so terrible a ruin. And, in farther prosecution of this scheme, it would be easy to demonstrate which are the

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best

* N. B. This advertisement is not prefixed to the first edition printed at Naples.

best forms of government, tending to nourish the virtues, and to promote the greatest good of mankind; and how favourable an opportunity the subjects of the crown of Spain would have, on the death of their king, to establish a form of this kind; and, in consequence of it, to enjoy the blessings of peace, liberty, and good government.

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DISCOURSE

Concerning the

AFFAIRS of SPAIN.

THE monarchy of Spain affords so very proper a foundation for erecting on it the empire of the world, that, on the death of its present king, which, from the exhausted and languishing state of his health, must certainly happen in a few years, if not in a few months; if, of all the pretenders to the succession of so vast an empire, which is rather fallen into disorder than utterly ruined and undone, a prince of wisdom and spirit should ascend the throne, it is likely he will not confine himself to lower views. I have undertaken, therefore, to treat of the different interests of the princes laying claim to this succession; and also of the declension of the affairs of the Spanish monarchy, with the proper methods of reforming its disorders, and of putting it into a condition to acquire the empire of the world.

Not that I am insensible of my inequality to such a task, and that there are many of superior abilities, who can better foresee what will happen on the death of the present king; but that, on so important a subject, men, by hearing a variety of reasonings, might be able to form a more certain judgement, I have resolved also to publish my sentiments; which, though they may not always contain the most probable conjectures, will at least give hints of use to lead to such conjectures a genius of greater strength and penetration.

To evince, then, that a decayed state is capable of being restored, so as even to become a foundation for new superstructures, and to render myself more intelligible, it will be necessary, in the first place, to point out the causes of the declension of the affairs of Spain: and one of the chief of these being the disjunction of the states of this monarchy, I shall speak of the exchanges proper to be made of some of these states with others; which will be the most effectual remedy for this evil. Next, I shall consider the different interests of the princes who aspire to the crown of Spain; the methods they may employ to obtain it; the advantages they would severally bring along with them to Spain; the opposition and difficulties they would meet with, and how much the exchange of certain states would facilitate their making, without suspicion, the necessary preparations for raising themselves, in due time, to the empire of the world. Last of all, I shall demonstrate, that who-
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ever of these princes shall become king of Spain, he will have it in his power, by means of an expedition against Africa, a reformation in the affairs of his kingdom, and the acquisition of the empire of the sea (for all which he will have so many and great advantages) to make a very great progress towards universal empire.

BUT, before I proceed to the consideration of these particulars, in order to engage a more fixed and careful attention, I shall first show, that a king of Spain is possessed of an advantage for the sovereignty of the world, such as no other prince can boast of; and that is, the situation of Spain. The choice of a commodious place is of so much consequence, both for attaining and holding a great empire, that every other defect may be repaired by laws and good orders, but a bad situation is a disadvantage absolutely irreparable. The Northern nations have never been able to acquire a great empire otherwise than by deserting their own country: Carthage and Egypt, from the want of a proper situation, could not raise themselves to the sovereignty of the world; and the Romans lost it no otherwise than by the unhappy choice that Constantine made of Byzantium for the imperial seat. It is true, in modern times, when, by means of distant navigations, many new countries, and mighty states, and indeed almost the whole surface of the globe, have been discovered, I have thought Egypt conveniently enough situated for the seat of universal empire;

pire; that country lying between the two great continents of Asia and Africa; having the Mediterranean-sea for a communication with Europe and America; and, on the other side, the Red-sea towards the East. But the barren countries, and vast desarts, that block it up, on two of its sides, and, except by sea, almost quite sever it from the rest of the world, the great power of many states lying at a distance from it, and the weakness of the adjacent countries, go far to balance the other advantages of its situation. To render it still more commodious, a canal has been judged necessary to join the two seas; but this, neither the power of antient Egypt, nor the riches of the Persians, nor all the strength of the Moors and Turks, have been able to effect; nay, it is said, the low situation of Egypt renders it impracticable. But, as nature has provided a canal between the Mediterranean and Ocean, in my opinion, there is no place more advantageously situated, either for making a conquest of the world, or for the residence of its sovereign, than one near these Straits: whether Lisbon should be preferred, on the account of its excellent road for ships; or Carthagena, as being a commodious port for gallees; or Seville, in regard of its most fertile, delightful fields; or the antient city of Cadiz, on account of its port and strong situation; or Tangier, for the shelter of its bay, and the fruitful country around it. To demonstrate, then, the incomparable excellency of these situations; I say that the Straits
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of Gibraltar being, as it were, the center of meeting amongst those seas that embrace all the countries of the world, and so furnishing the greatest conveniency for transporting armies and military stores, with the utmost ease and expedition; any city, situated near them, would, above all others, be possessed of this advantage, which is of so great consequence for the government of the world: which is farther increased by this, that, on a review of the whole known world, it will be hard to say, on what side of the Straits, there lie along the coasts, countries more considerable than those on each side of the Straits themselves. For, being situated on the extremity of the old world, they have all the new to the West; to which, though at a great distance, a voyage is soon performed, and a return also made, by a different course; both being effected by the help of winds, that blow regularly from the same point. On the North, is Spain, Portugal, the British islands, France, the Low-Countries, Germany, and the countries on the Baltic. On the East, by the Mediterranean, a communication is open with France, Italy, Dalmatia, Greece, Moscovy, Asia, both lesser and greater, Egypt, and Barbary. To the South, is Africa; and, after passing the Cape of Good Hope, the East-Indies, and vast empires of Persia; the Mogul, China, and Japan.

AND, to shew how strongly a prince will be tempted to indulge such aspiring thoughts, it is certain, that those princes, or others who have
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laid the first foundations of the future grandeur of states, either by founding new kingdoms and republics, or restoring such as had fallen into decay, have always obtained higher applauses than those who have put the finishing hand to their power and greatness. The reason of which is, that men have ascribed to those who have enlarged the dominions of a state only that honour which their conquests seemed to merit; but have always put the glory of the founder on a level with that of the empire itself. It is true, indeed, the examples of the restorers of decayed states are extremely rare, and their glory still exceeds that of the founders of new. For ' these, as Machiavel ' says, being furnished with well-disposed materials, find no other difficulty, but in giving ' them a convenient form; whereas the restorers ' of states are obliged to reform disorders, and ' these of the greatest and most obstinate kind, in ' consequence of their having grown old: farther, ' matter that is so much corrupted requires time ' to purify, and regain its original soundness; and ' time is always subject to many accidents, the ' least of which is sufficient to disorder all anew.' Now, though this be perfectly true, yet, in the following discourse, it will be demonstrated, that any prince of wisdom and spirit, who shall succeed to the crown of Spain, may not only lay the foundations of a formidable power, but even, in his own time, advance it to considerable maturity and vigour. To proceed, then, to the consideration
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of the things above-proposed, and first to point out the causes of the declension of the affairs of Spain; I observe, that the house of Austria, by her alliance with that of Burgundy, and afterwards with that of Spain; which two houses had already united under their dominion, partly in the same way of marriages, partly by new acquisitions, many very rich provinces; by the accident of the discovery of the Indies, and by the election of Charles the fifth to the empire, sprung up, all on a sudden, without difficulty or labour, to an exorbitant pitch of greatness: but, following the fate of other things of this world, that grow with such rapidity, and not having taken a root sufficient to nourish or support so huge a bulk, it could not otherwise happen, than that, in a short time, it should fall into great decay, so as even, with difficulty, to escape total destruction. It is true, king Ferdinand had laid some foundation for the future greatness of Spain: for, whilst his perpetual negotiations and intrigues formed him many able statesmen and ministers, his long and successful wars, in the kingdom of Granada, and in Italy, had introduced such excellent order and discipline into his armies, and particularly amongst his infantry, that either in suffering hardships, or in battle, the world could not shew its equal. These were the arms which, at Pavia and on the Elbe, crowned so great a work of fortune with the highest pitch of glory; and afterwards, in the Low-Countries, supported, for a while, its declining greatness. However,
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these could not help sharing in those disorders which were every day hastening the ruin of this empire; the wise counsellors of former times being wore out, and their counsels soon forgotten. For both the kings and their ministers, being swelled with the pride of such extraordinary greatness, as if they had owed to their strength and virtue what was merely the work of fortune, indulged themselves in visionary schemes, and embarked in a multitude of wild undertakings that could never terminate otherwise than in loss and ruin. So that, leaving now to fortune the management of her own fabric, they persuaded themselves, that their greatness of mind would stand secure against all her shocks; and gave themselves no farther anxiety about the means proper to fix her. And first, Charles the fifth, who had so very fair an opportunity of subduing the world, consumed all his time, in rambling from province to province, without forming one project that was solid, or proportioned to his great elevation. Though, as his dominions were so much disjointed, and his power so much envied, it was evident his only recourse was to raise himself still higher. However, the power of Philip was still so great, as to keep alive the hopes of the empire of the world. But he, with all the appearance of a wise, grave, constant, cunning, and political prince, instead of remedying former disorders, suffered every thing to run into utter confusion; nor had he success in any one thing, but the acquisition of Portugal, which indeed

deed was a very great advantage, but, like all the rest, wholly a work of fortune. He did not introduce amongst the people of Spain, which should have constituted the chief strength, and the household, so to speak, of his great empire, any sort of industry, either in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or navigation; for all which he had so favourable an opportunity, and of the last such absolute necessity. On the contrary, the barks of the English cruized, with impunity, every-where in his seas, attacked his largest carracs, which his subjects knew not how to manage; and, as it was impossible to defend the immense coasts of his dominions by forts and garrisons, committed, wherever they thought fit, the greatest depredations and outrages; as the pirates of that nation do to this day. This king, and his Spaniards, drew the whole of their subsistence from the mines of Peru; the gold and silver of which passing through their hands, served only to enrich their enemies, the English, French, and Flemings, from whom they were supplied with manufactures, and the other necessaries of life. And as he took no measures to reform the management of the affairs of the Indies, where, in the reigns of Charles and Ferdinand, more than twenty millions of men were murdered (an eternal reproach, a loss irreparable for many ages to come!) and his subjects still continuing to destroy the natives, and to pilfer his gold, as had happened before to Charles and Ferdinand, in consequence of their never think-

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ing of promoting any kind of industry; he had not, as a Spanish author says, a single Maravedis of clear and permanent revenue, in the whole extent of this vast and formerly populous world; which, by such treatment, was reduced to a desert. By these means, I say, and by the prodigious waste and want of oeconomy in his expences, this prince was reduced to great straits for money; and his successors, by the usury of the Genoese, and other strangers, to extreme poverty. He dissipated also the inhabitants of Spain itself, which Ferdinand had already spoiled of the Jews, by expelling the Moors from Granada, on account of their being enemies of the faith, (that perpetual rock on which the bigotry of the house of Austria has driven them,) by the re-peopling of America; and by the armies and garrisons he was obliged to keep up, in a great multitude of places. For, not chusing to govern his distant states, with the good-will of the people, by maintaining their ancient privileges and customs, nor to secure them by colonies, which was one of the best remedies; but, on the contrary, introducing every-where, by the force of arms, new establishments, and an absolute form of government; it was necessary that his garrisons should either wholly, or for the most part, consist of Spaniards; so that Spain, which ought to have drawn to herself many people out of the provinces, in order to keep them, by reason of their weakness, in greater subjection, being, on the contrary, exhausted by them both

of her men and money, became altogether incapable of making new conquests, and even, with difficulty, retained her antient possessions. And this will be sufficiently manifest from attending to the wars in the Low-Countries, which were the most apparent cause of the downfall of the power of Spain, as they continue to be of its weakness at this day. For through the seventeen provinces, as through a fistulous wound, all the aliment that ought to have nourished the empire of Spain has continually distilled.

I REPEAT it, therefore, that the violation of the antient privileges of these countries, by attempting to introduce an absolute form of government, and the inquisition, was an extremely foolish measure, which, together with the cruelty of the duke of Alva, rendered the inhabitants of them most obstinate enemies. But the troops of Spain were at that time so excellent, that they would easily have surmounted this difficulty, notwithstanding the very strong situation of some of these provinces, and though the king had done nothing to redress their grievances, had it not been that Flanders lay at such a distance from Spain, that as armies could not be transported thither without the greatest difficulty and expence; so not only they, but frequently the advices by which they were to act, came not in time to answer the sudden emergencies that are always falling out in the course of a war; which the English and French, as being in the neighbourhood of these people, were able
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to foment with the utmost ease and expedition. And so blinded was that prince, that, as if Flanders had become the seat of his empire (where every thing was conducted with so much difficulty and expence, as has been said, and where he was not present himself) he would needs from thence, and that too before the Flemings were reduced, make war upon France and England, as his successors have since done against the Palatinate. So gross an error not only occasioned the loss of seven of these provinces, ruined his great designs in France and England, but reduced him to the greatest straits in all his other affairs: which the French, in these later times being aware of, have never failed to direct the chief weight of their wars against these provinces, which lie so near their capital, and to employ the bulk of their forces on that side, to their own great advantage, and the perpetual loss of the Spaniards; nor at this day have they any other view in leaving a remnant of these provinces to the crown of Spain, but to keep their arms weak and unable to operate elsewhere, and so to increase the glory of the arms of France. Thus the French having been defeated by the Germans in the battles of Treves and Altenheim; we saw their monarch, early in the succeeding spring, march into Flanders, there to regain his lost reputation. And, at present, to render this province more expensive and pernicious to Spain, after having stript her of the more valuable part of the country, they leave her
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in possession of a number of large fortified towns, that require great garrisons to keep them. But though the French should conquer all the rest of Flanders, they will have the like advantages in the state of Milan, where France can make war with much more ease than Spain; the passage for succours, both by land and sea, being nearer from Province and Dauphiny than from Spain: and so France, finding her accounts so greatly in it, will never fail to carry on her wars in these disjointed states, till Spain herself, when utterly exhausted by their ruin, and incapable of making a defence, be attacked in the last place.

FROM all that has been said above, it may be inferred, that the causes of the decay of the Spanish monarchy have been the want of good orders within its government; and its dominions being disjointed and separated from one another, the most vigorous and flourishing kingdom of France, its perpetual enemy, lying between them. We shall consider the last of these first, because it seems reasonable it should be remedied without delay, from the necessity the prince, who succeeds to the crown of Spain, will find himself under of alienating, or exchanging some of his provinces for others; and because the establishing new regulations within the kingdom is a work of longer time.

It was a most sagacious saying of a happy genius, that, by the addition of Flanders, and the Spanish states of Italy, the weight of Spain and
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the Indies became lighter. In our age, these states have almost totally destroyed this weight. And it had been for the interest of Spain, that Charles the fifth had alienated the provinces of Flanders, by either annexing them to the empire, or making a present of them to any power who had been able to defend them against the French; that Philip, instead of retaining, by a most consuming war, the dominion of a part of these provinces, had granted them all their liberty; or that the present king had yielded the remnant of them to France, rather than still have retained them, to the greater advantage of the latter. So little do men see in their own affairs; so great and innumerable miseries do nations suffer, merely from the want of solid reflection. But as this is the case, and it seems almost ridiculous to attempt to persuade princes to abandon their dominions to enemies, or to leave the government of them to the inhabitants themselves, as if that were a thing above the capacities of subjects; it being also impossible to employ the remedy of colonies, though a most effectual one, in such circumstances, on account of the extreme depopulation of Spain, or any other of a slow operation; the affairs of this monarchy being reduced to such a situation, that there is a necessity of contriving some remedy that may speedily obtain its effect, so as to give time for the thorough establishment of proper regulations within the government: after much revolving, I have not been
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able to find out any other than the alienation or exchanging of some of the above-mentioned provinces, for others of a situation more convenient for the Spanish empire.

BUT before I shew what these are, and how such exchanges may be made, I shall observe, that the transferring countries, in this way of exchange, is much easier and more happy than that which is brought about by wars: for these, for the most part, after infinite toil and trouble, produce no other effect than what may arise from the former, by the intervention of a treaty or marriage, and that without the smallest inconvenience. Nay, I will say farther, that the interest of princes and states being always the object of such exchanges, it might be justly wondered, that instances of them have been so few, and so little remarkable, were it not most notorious, that ambition, the mother of wars, has always been stronger in human breasts than more modest and useful inclinations. If it should be said, the difficulties attending exchanges are so great, that, especially in those of great consequence, the thing becomes utterly impracticable; I answer, that exchanges being transacted in the way of paction, no difficulty ought to arise where all the contracting parties find their interest; or if any do arise, it proceeds from weakness, and want of greatness in minds thus irresolute and unable, in affairs of moment, to make choice of a wife and advantageous part. Of this we have a notable example,
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in the conduct of king Philip, so often already mentioned, who, being persuaded that he was a sufferer by retaining the Low-Countries, made an alienation of them, by the marriage of Isabella with the arch-duke Albert. But this remedy proving ineffectual, by the failure of issue from that marriage, he had not soul enough to alienate them entirely, though that would have been a much wiser measure than the retaining them in any way whatever. And should it be said, that if a prince or republic should attempt, by exchange or otherwise, to alienate a province, this would thereby regain its liberty, and would not be obliged to submit to the dominion of another, when its own prince would govern it no longer; it may be easily replied, that such a province finding it, as is supposed, to be more for its interest, to submit to a new master than to continue under the dominion of its former, would always readily consent; and also, that it is not necessary its sovereign should declare his resolution to alienate it altogether, though this were his real intention, until it should be reconciled and consent to the exchange. But at any rate this difficulty has no place in provinces subject to absolute dominion; where the prince, without the participation of the people, may, with equal justice, exchange them, as he governs them arbitrarily.

FROM what has been already said, it follows, that Spain, in exchange for her disjoined states, as they are not only useless, but pernicious to her, ought

ought to be content with a little. But, as this is a doctrine very difficult to persuade either people or princes, I shall propose an exchange of these states with others of an equal, or not much inferior, value; but, with respect to the interest of Spain, so much preferable, as a great good is to an extraordinary mischief. Proceeding, therefore, to treat of the different interests of the princes who aspire to the crown of Spain, of the methods they may employ to obtain it, of the advantages that would redound to Spain from each, of the difficulties and opposition they would have to encounter, with the ways to surmount them; and to shew how much the exchange of certain states would facilitate their making, without suspicion, the necessary preparations for raising themselves to the empire of the world, supposing a sufficient time allowed for so great an enterprize; I say, that the king of Portugal ought to make an offer of annexing his dominions to those of Spain, upon his obtaining that throne; and that this is a secure, good, and easily executed measure for both kingdoms. For there is no country in the world more commodious for Spain, in respect of its situation, and on many other accounts, than Portugal; which has frequently been able to carry a formidable war into the very bowels of the first mentioned kingdom. By this union, the dominions of Spain in America, which ought to be more considered than they have hitherto been, will be enlarged, by the accession of Brasil; and she

she will also acquire other places in Africa and Asia, that will afford the greatest advantages for the increase of commerce and navigation, so necessary to this empire. And if the Spaniards were as wise as they are commonly reputed, their court, upon that event, would remove to Lisbon, whence mighty benefits would accrue. For, besides the advantage of the fine situation of this city, commodious for commerce, and for stationing the largest fleets; fit, as has been already observed, for making a conquest of the world, and for the residence of a prince who should govern it; the Portuguese language and manners, different from those of Spain, would, in that case, be chearfully abandoned by the Portuguese themselves, and would become extinct, together with all memory of their having been a separate people or kingdom. And so this vast country, enclosed by the sea and Pyrenean mountains, would become one entire body. But if the Spaniards, obstinate in their national prejudice, would needs continue at Madrid, it is likely they might accommodate their empire to the situation of this city (extremely convenient indeed for the government of all Spain, though of Spain alone) if they would not chuse a situation fit for the empire of the world. If it should be said, the Spanish grandees and courtiers will not like to see their court increased by the addition of that of Portugal, and that they would be better pleased with this king's eldest son, during whose minority they might have an opportunity of en-
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riching themselves; it may be said, with equal truth, that if the kings of Spain, who were persuaded, by the fraudulent representations of such courtiers, that in order to subject America, it was necessary to exterminate all the inhabitants, had afterwards perceived the imposition, and put a stop to the effusion of the blood of so many millions of men, they would have deprived their Spaniards of the means of enriching themselves; and that, if the present king had taken to wife the infanta of Portugal who died last, Don John, and the other malecontents of the court, would not have had so near and convenient a retreat to fly to: most excellent reasons truly, and worthy of the persons they come from! And, indeed, I am fully satisfied that the unjust interests of these men have, in all periods, been the most immediate cause of the ruin of Spain. But, besides that it is quite repugnant to the design of this discourse to continue any of the disorders of this kingdom; I say, if a French or German prince should ascend the throne, the grandees of Spain would be more supplanted in posts and governments, by the nobility of either of these nations, than by the Portuguese; and that a king of Spain, being always to be employed in the grandest undertakings, as will be evident in what follows, occasions will never be wanting to those who are ambitious to raise themselves by their merit. Supposing, then, the king of Portugal placed on the throne of Spain, if he should resolve to continue quiet for a while,

and prepare his way, without suspicion, to the empire of the world, it will be necessary for him, with the consent of the people of Spain, to alienate Luxemburgh to the empire, in exchange for certain feuds in Italy; Ostend, and the rest of the province of Flanders, to the English, for certain islands which they possess in America, and chiefly Jamaica, as being a nest for pirates, so near and mischievous to the American fleets and colonies; and all the rest of the Low-Countries to the Dutch, for some of their settlements in America, Africa, and Asia; the possession of which, together with these given up by the English, will contribute greatly to secure the peace of the Indies. The Low-Countries, so near to Paris, being put into the hands of three such great powers, will form a very strong bulwark against the greatness of France. And this too would be a motive to these nations to continue always in friendship with Spain. The inhabitants also of the Netherlands, after such long and infinite calamities, having masters able to protect them, would taste the sweets of repose. If to the exchanges, above-mentioned, could be added that of Tuscany for the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Sardinia, Spain would be secured on all sides; as the port of Leghorn would be a most convenient place for receiving succours, as well from Spain as from Naples and Sicily; which cannot be conveyed to Milan, without the greatest difficulty. Tuscany again, lying behind the Alps, Lombardy and the Appennine, could not easily
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be hurt by the French, unless by sea. The condition of the Florentines, at present oppressed with excessive taxes, (their princes having no other way to keep them in subjection) will become more tolerable when they are employed in the defence of Italy against the French: the Milanese too, no longer subject to the government of foreigners, which they abhor so much, will have an Italian prince of their own, who will reside constantly at Milan. Perhaps it will be said, the grand duke would never agree to such an exchange, nor abandon a dominion, in which his family has grown old, to remove to others so much exposed to war. I answer, they are dominions of the same nation, language, customs, and religion with this prince; and that the riches of the duchy, and dignity of the king, with so great an accession of territory, seem to merit his consent. But upon his accepting this exchange, it would be expedient for him to propose another to the duke of Mantua; I mean, that of the Cremonese and Lodofan for Montferrat, a province so convenient for Milan, both to deprive the French of a proper place, whereby to enter Italy, and the duke of Savoy of a pretence for quarrelling. And the duke of Mantua, from the riches, and still more from the situation of the above-mentioned provinces, contiguous to his own dominions, and remote from the occasions of war, would find his account abundantly in the exchange. By this means the republic of Venice,

that of Genoa, and the princes of Lombardy, will have less to fear from the situation of the Spanish dominions in Italy, than they have at present; but the pope, and the republic of Lucca, perhaps more. The forces, however, to be employed in defending Italy against the French, will be increased by those of Tuscany, as has been said. If it is alleged, that it is a vain thing to imagine a king of Portugal should succeed to the crown of Spain, especially when the House of Austria, and that of France, the two first of the world, besides other princes, claim the right of succession; I reply, that I am not speaking of the right of succession, leaving this to be discussed by doctors of the laws; nor of the duty of princes, which is the province of divines; but of what has been, and will be, their constant practice, which is, to aggrandize themselves, at any rate, by seizing, in whatever way they are able, the dominions of their neighbours. And if ever any prince could deserve to be excused for acting in this manner, it would be the king of Portugal, in the circumstances supposed, as he would bring such vast advantages to the crown of Spain: for this being delivered from the cancer of Flanders, disburdened of the load of Milan, and made stronger by the addition of Portugal, by the means of the armies which it maintains, at a vast expence, in these disjointed dominions, and the forces of Portugal, would, with perfect ease to itself, make a prodigious diversion to the arms of the French, in
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Guienne and Languedoc, whenever they should think fit to attack the empire, Italy, the Low-Countries, or the British islands; whereas, at present, it does nothing but increase their dominions and glory, by its continual losses, as has been observed already. And this king will appear more excusable still, when it is considered, that, if a prince of Germany or France should succeed to the Spanish monarchy, the loss of his own dominions would be almost inevitable. But, by acting the part above-mentioned, he at once frees himself from this hazard, and becomes the first king of the world. He makes Portugal and the Indies belonging to it happy, by banishing war, for all time to come; and raises his nobility and courtiers (who have repented of the folly of the last revolution) to the highest pitch of felicity. And as to the great power of the two pretending families above-mentioned, this is a favourable circumstance for the king of Portugal; because, being implacable enemies to one another, they will never unite against him. The humiliation of the house of Austria will be grateful to the empire, Italy, the Swiss, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and the Turk; and the whole world will rejoice to see France fallen from her hopes of succeeding to the Spanish monarchy.

AND although the union of Portugal with Spain would not be so agreeable to the English, Dutch, Hamburgers, and other people, who depend chiefly on their commerce; yet they will never expose themselves to the hazard they would incur, by endea-

vouring to prevent it ; from the fear of losing their most profitable trade, which is that with Spain, and of giving a pretext for seizing the immense wealth of their merchants in that country.

IN the next place, we shall consider the interests of the elector of Bavaria, who, in order to make the emperor give up his pretensions to the crown of Spain, for his sons, and to procure his assistance in the advancement of the prince of Bavaria, his grandson, to that dignity, ought to make an offer of leaving the inheritance of the electorate and his other dominions to the arch-duke: for, if the emperor do not favour him, he must infallibly despair of obtaining the crown of Spain for his son: and to induce the emperor to this, besides the relation of a grandson, it is probable France would not oppose any prince whatever so much as one of the Austrian family. And it is safer for the emperor, that the monarchy of Spain should be in the hands of any other prince, than that he should run the risk of its falling into the hands of a prince of France, by having recourse to methods of force, for continuing it in the house of Austria. The emperor ought not to despise the accession of strength that would be made to his house, by the dominions of Bavaria and another electorate. And as to the other potentates of Europe, they would be better pleased with the succession of any prince whatever to the crown of Spain, than of one either of the house of Austria or Bourbon; and they would prefer the prince of Bavaria to any of the
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pretenders who should bring along with them an increase of dominion to Spain.

SUPPOSING, then, the prince of Bavaria seated on the throne of Spain, and that he also should set about preparing his way, without suspicion, to the empire of the world; to give time for bringing the affairs of Spain into order, he ought, with the consent of his people, to alienate the Low-Countries, in the manner proposed above; and likewise to give Milan and Sardinia in exchange for Tuscany; or if the great duke should refuse this exchange, he may give the duchy of Milan to the Venetians and Genoese, for the Morea and island of Corsica; which will be easily defended, and lie conveniently for the command of the Mediterranean. And so great an addition to the strength of the Venetians and Genoese in Lombardy, will prove a mighty obstacle to the French, in their attempts to penetrate into Italy: and this last exchange might, in the like case, be made by the king of Portugal. But rather than the state of Milan should continue a burden to Spain, and give continual occasion to the French, Germans, Swiss, and duke of Savoy, to disturb the peace of Italy, and serve as a step for attacking the other Spanish dominions in that country, it ought to be alienated at any rate; either by sharing it among its neighbours, or by granting the inhabitants their liberty, and annexing it to the Swiss cantons; which would form an invincible obstacle against the French, in all their attempts to invade Italy.

IF the Spaniards should accept of the duke of Savoy for their king, he would bring along with him very great advantages; for having united his own dominions with the duchy of Milan, and being possessed of the passes of the Alps, he would be master in Lombardy, and (including the islands of Sardinia and Sicily) king of two thirds of Italy; from whence, no less than from Spain itself, he would be able to make head against any aggressor. It will be said by some, that the pope, the Venetians, the Genoese, the great duke, and other potentates of Italy, jealous of such extraordinary greatness, will combine to prevent it. But though they should form a confederacy for this end, they would not be hasty in calling foreign arms into Italy (a step that has almost always proved fatal to that country) in order to bring down a greatness that had arisen without the help of arms, but would only have that recourse, to hinder its increasing beyond its just limits. For Charles the fifth, and his son Philip, were either of them more formidable than a duke of Savoy would be, when raised to the throne of Spain; and so great a power would rather be a security to Italy against the arms of France, the proper time for calling in these being, when this prince, not content with the antient dominions of his own house, and with those of the Spaniards in Italy, should begin to make attempts upon any other of the states of that country. And the implacable animosity betwixt the two families of France and Austria, hindering

dering them to unite against him, would be his safety. But if he would gain time to prepare matters for raising himself to the empire of the world, he must alienate the Low-Countries in the manner proposed above; and also exchange the Cremonese and Lodolan for the Montferrat.

THE whole world would combine against the pretensions of the Dauphin; nevertheless, his father ought, at first, to appear determined to support them, that so the Spaniards may the more readily accept of the duke of Berry for their king; and he being once received will be able, with all imaginable ease, to effectuate the junction of the France and Spanish monarchies. The French will indeed say, that it being necessary to provide the crown of Spain with a successor, and the right being in the person of the Dauphin; yet their monarch acting in the character of most christian, for the sake of preventing the effusion of christian blood, and that he may not give occasion to perpetual wars, and fill the the world with the terror that such a succession would excite, will be content that the Spaniards take his grandson the duke of Berry for their king; and that he will send him into Spain, not only without armies, or military attendance of any kind, but accompanied with his domestics alone; and that even they, so soon as the Spaniards have received their new monarch, on the confines of the two kingdoms, shall all return again to France, not a single page continuing in Spain; the whole advantage result-

ing hence to France, being the honour of giving a king to Spain, who, having the same interests with the Spaniards themselves, will always pursue them. These are fine gilded words! But if, by thus gilding the soporiferous pill, they should be able to lay the Spaniards asleep, they would have them all fast in chains before they awaked; either filling their dominions with French troops, on pretence of assisting them, when attacked by the house of Austria, or by a thousand other methods, which it is altogether needless to mention.

BUT in order to lay asleep, not only the Spaniards, but all the other nations of Europe, the French will farther propose, that the king of Great Britain, and republic of Holland, who alone are able, shall be the guarantees of France; engaging, that this crown shall in no way avail itself of the succession of the duke of Berry to the crown of Spain; who being seated independently on that throne, will become the enemy of France, as much as any prince of the house of Austria. They will say farther, that Great Britain and Holland, by giving this guarantee, will save not only the other states of Europe, but also themselves from a most consuming war; that being exhausted of money, which they can only regain by commerce, they ought to endeavour, by all means, to preserve the peace of Europe. And truly the bad conduct of the last war, chiefly in affairs at sea, and the management of the public money,

may,

may, with reason, destroy all inclination in the English to renew the war in Flanders, which would indeed be no less pernicious to that nation, than their neglecting to oppose the designs of France with their whole strength by sea. But, besides that this guarantee would become useless, by the secret intrigues of the French, embroiling the English with the Dutch, or the English amongst themselves, things by no means hard to accomplish, it would seem that there is some hidden venom working in these countries, which, corrupting all their affairs, must at last precipitate them into utter ruin. So that, in this most profligate age, amidst such prodigious degeneracy of every rank of men, who allow themselves to be deluded, not from want of knowledge, but of virtue, this gross imposition of France might possibly succeed, especially as the people of Europe are so much impoverished and tired with war: it might, I say, perhaps succeed, provided that ambitious power were not sparing of her money to courtiers, and of her promises to princes, to assist them in robbing their subjects and neighbours of their liberty, and in banishing it out of the world.

BUT if these practices of the French should fail of the desired success, though they might well expect it, from the abandoned manners of this enervated age; and if they should find themselves obliged to proceed more openly, the Spaniards, not consenting to receive the duke for their king, in that case they may attack, with vast armies and
fleets,

fleets, the state of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; placing all their hopes in the rapidity of their conquests, that so they may prevent the Germans. And, at the same time, making a defensive war in the Low-Countries; and, in order to amuse the English and Dutch, allowing some of the strong places there to fall into their hands, they might send an army, small in number, to prevent its being starved, but consisting of their most select forces, into Spain; and, for a lure to the Spaniards, showing the duke of Berry at the head of it, they would be able to accomplish their designs. And thus the Spaniards would, at once, lose their dominions in Italy, and become a province themselves; for the duke of Berry coming in with an army, the French would dispose of every thing in Spain at their pleasure.

AND in order to retain the possession of a great part of Italy, with the utter exclusion of the Germans, and less suspicion on the part of the Italians, they might make an exchange with the duke of Savoy; who, on condition of their establishing him in the kingdom of Naples, would yield his antient dominions to France; and if he should refuse this exchange, they could easily drive him out of his country. But it is not likely he would refuse it, since, on the French becoming masters of Milan, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, he would hold his antient dominions much more precariously than if he were established in Naples; where,
be-

besides the title of king, he will be possessed of a very rich and delicious country. It is true, his family is grown old, in his present dominions, and is much beloved by his people; but if he govern wisely, he will have nothing to apprehend from his new subjects, who are of the same nation, manners, language, and religion: and this country being restored to the real dignity of a kingdom, having a prince of its own, and an Italian, being no more plundered by governors; and, after a subjection of two hundred years, set free from the slavery of barbarians, for so they call all on the other side of the Alps, will serve him faithfully.

IN this manner, the most christian king having joined the duchy of Milan with the kingdom of France, by possessing the dominions of the duke of Savoy, on each side of the Alps, would get such a footing in Italy, that it would be extremely difficult to drive him out. Sicily and Sardinia, being islands, will be easily defended; and will not give so much jealousy, as if he should retain Naples, and alienate these islands to the duke. Nor needs the monarch to apprehend this prince's confederating with the other potentates of Italy; since, being master of the sea, and having Sicily to attack him from behind, it would be dangerous to a prince, newly settled in his dominions, to renounce his friendship, to seek for other friends, or to give the smallest pretext for exciting new
di-

disturbances among so giddy and inconstant a people.

BUT, with all this, it is beyond question, that the pope, the Venetians, and smaller republics of Italy, joining with the empire and Swiss cantons, will endeavour to prevent this establishment of the French in Italy. It is a difficult thing to cheat the Italians; the wars of Italy have always been fatal to the French arms; and it is a country much obstructed by mountains and rivers. It is in the power of the Germans, and especially of the emperor and elector of Bavaria, who lie nearest, and are both pretenders to the crown of Spain, in conjunction with the Swiss, to pour down, from the Alps, such armies into Lombardy, as would make the French repent their having begun a war in that country.

AND perhaps it would not only be a wise, but even a necessary measure for France to offer the Milanese to the elector of Bavaria, in exchange for the Spanish Netherlands: and it is likely the elector might agree to this proposal, should the emperor refuse his consent to the electoral prince's succeeding to the crown of Spain, on the terms above-mentioned. The states belonging to the elector in Germany, and the duchy of Milan, will lie near for giving mutual assistance to each other against the emperor, or any of the powers of Italy who attack them. The French retaining no more of this country than Piedmont to themselves, and having given a powerful prince footing in it,
would

would expose their arms to less suspicion: and thus keeping the Germans disunited, and having gained so powerful an ally against the house of Austria as the elector of Bavaria, who has almost always doubled the strength of that house in Germany, proceeding to turn their arms against Spain, and having nothing to disturb them in Italy, they would experience the great advantage of having fortified their shoulders against Great Britain and Holland, by the acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands.

HOWEVER, if the French king should not by any means be able to draw off the elector of Bavaria from his antient friendship with the house of Austria, he would be obliged, keeping Naples to himself, to make a present of the Milanese to the duke of Savoy; who, by his old and new dominions, becoming much the powerfullest prince of Lombardy, would prove a most faithful ally against the Germans. And it would give less jealousy to the Italians to see the French masters of Naples, than of Savoy, the Alps, Piedmont, and Milan, countries adjoining and contiguous to France; the possession of which would put Italy wholly into their Power. And the Germans, destitute of strength at sea, can do nothing to oppose the French arms in Spain, which will always have the greatest influence in drawing its other dominions along with it.

HOWEVER, if the French, giving up the Spanish dominions in Italy to the Germans and Italian,

ans, should become masters of Spain, and its dominions in the Indies, they will hurt, in the most sensible manner, the commerce of the English and Dutch; which thenceforth declining daily, these nations will, in a few years, be driven intirely out of the sea, by the superior strength of the fleets of France, which want nothing but such a number of sailors as the commerce of the Indies and Mediterranean would furnish them; not to mention the riches arising from these branches of commerce, and from the mines of Peru. And truly the power of the most christian king has, in our times, become so formidable, that, if he intends to seize any part of the Spanish monarchy, he must lay his account with having the whole world combined against him, excepting perhaps a few princes whom he would admit to a share in the spoil.

AND indeed the fleets of England and Holland give the king of Great Britain such vast power at sea, enabling him not only to obstruct France, in the conquest of America, but to give her the greatest disturbance in that of Spain itself, by saving that country from being blocked up by French fleets; that it is probable he will never allow a prince of France to succeed to the Spanish crown, without reaping some very great advantage by it to his own subjects, and the Dutch. This cannot be less than giving up the whole of North-America to the English, where they have already many colonies, and withdrawing from it those of
France,

France, and to the Dutch the dominions of Spain in the East-Indies, with the part she still retains of the Low-Countries. If it should be said, these suppositions and demands are intolerable; I answer, that the most christian king, by grasping at all the Spanish dominions, would lose them all; that I have shown it to be very difficult, and almost wholly impracticable for the French to carry on wars in Italy; that these concessions to the king of Great Britain, who cannot accept of lower terms, if he would not have the English and Dutch driven out of the sea entirely, as has been already said, would make every thing easy to the king of France, who would still retain enough. For, together with France, possessing also Spain and South-America, he might in time easily make himself master of the world, as will be made evident below; and this too, without the advantage of fixing the seat of his empire in Spain; it not being likely a kingdom so flourishing and full of inhabitants as France would agree to subject herself to so vast and depopulated a country as Spain. But if France would consent to this, it seems a very easy thing to unite the two monarchies. And truly the French are become so abject under their present servitude, that perhaps their king would not find much difficulty in effecting such a design; only this condition being established, that they should be ruled by governors of their own nation. But such a resolution would seem so incredible a thing to the Spaniards,
that

that though it were taken with perfect sincerity, they would never persuade themselves it were any thing but delusion; and not only the Spaniards, but all other nations would oppose it. Besides, that it is a design surpassing the ordinary strength of human minds, and especially those of princes, who are generally no less incapable of eternizing their memories by works of extraordinary greatness than by those of true virtue.

LET US proceed now to consider the other pretenders. The arch-duke seems to be a very fit successor, as being of the same family with the present king, and because it is necessary, for balancing the excessive power of France, to continue the crown in the house of Austria; besides that, he will add nothing to the dominions of Spain, nor bring any alliances to that crown more than it already enjoys. It is probable too, that being of the same family, he would, like his predecessors, prove a pacific prince: nothing would be innovated, nor would the world perceive that Spain had changed her king; and if the emperor should make peace with the Porte, and give the elector of Bavaria some places on the Rhine, in order to make him a constant enemy of France, the arch-duke would have no other enemy but the French: so that, upon his succeeding to the crown of Spain, by the interests of those princes who are inclined to prevent any alterations in Europe, on the death of the present king; every thing being thus quieted, he will have no other

exchange to make, in the view of preparing his way to the empire of the world, but that of the Spanish Netherlands, in the manner mentioned above; for he must retain the state of Milan, for the sake of receiving succours from his father.

IN all the pretensions to the crown of Spain, the capital point being to have the good-will of the Spaniards themselves, and to be called in by them; it is likely the house of Austria, as having grown old on the throne of that kingdom, will have many partizans; and the house of Bourbon, on the account of past enmities and the incompatibility of tempers, few; and that the party consisting of an inconsiderable number of grandees, corrupted by French gold, will disappear, on the death of the present king. However, if a prince of France should succeed, though his mind were entirely alienated from his own country, and he should become wholly a Spaniard, yet he could not give such strength to the affairs of Spain, as a prince who had alliances and family connexions in Germany; nor would the succession of such a prince, as the last mentioned, be so advantageous as of one who also possessed very powerful dominions in that country. So that it is probable, that the Spaniards, their interests thus concurring with their inclinations, may make an offer to the emperor of accepting the king of the Romans for their sovereign, on condition of a conjunction of his hereditary dominions to the crown of Spain, so as never after to be alienated from it. It is true,

true, so great a power will be much envied and dreaded. It would give great jealousy to the Germans; and it is likely the house of Austria would, in consequence of it, lose the imperial dignity; however, the accession of such vast dominions would be a sufficient consolation for this loss. And the Germans will never chuse an emperor of the house of Bourbon, but rather one of their own nation, who may be able to hold the the balance betwixt those two potent families, and at the same time that of Europe; and for this such an emperor will be much fitter than the feeble Venetians, or inconstant English. Nor will the Germans have any thing to dread from such a power, the power of France having, in our times, grown to such a vast height. It will perhaps be said, that Spain ought to have a prince who should reside in it; and Austria another, for opposing the Turks on the Danube: I answer, that such powerful and expeditious succours might be sent from Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples to the neighbouring countries of Croatia, Bosnia, Rascia, Sclavonia, and Hungary; and the maritime places of Greece might be so easily infested by means of a naval armament kept up at Otranto, that such a conjunction of the fore-mentioned states would form a power sufficient to pull down the Ottoman empire; and that so great a king, though he were not, like Charles the fifth, rambling perpetually, yet ought by no means to bury himself in Spain, in imitation of Philip the second.

But

But still this prince, notwithstanding his great power, ought to alienate that cancer of Flanders, in the manner already mentioned, and to fix the seat of his empire at Carthage, that he may be near Italy, and the states that lie opposite to the Turkish dominions.

THE Roman pontiffs have claims on the kingdom of Naples, but want forces to make them good. Nor have they, at present, so much authority, as to enable them to give any thing equivalent to the cession of this kingdom, should any of the pretenders to the crown of Spain incline to make them so valuable a present.

As to private pretenders to the crown of Spain, I know of none, except the duke of Medina Celi, who is sprung from the disinherited Alphonso: but it is not probable either he, or any other Spanish viceroy will be able to raise himself to the sovereignty of the Spanish monarchy, or of any part of it, as there are so many powerful princes standing in the way, who have the command of fleets and armies; and amongst private men, no one will yield so high a place to another.

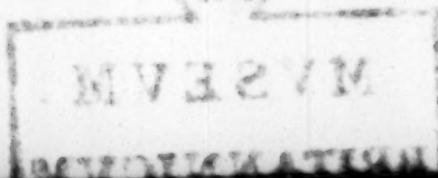
BUT nothing could contribute more to the ease of the prince who succeeds to this throne, nor to save the people of Spain from that consternation, and those horrible convulsions which the death of the present king must otherwise occasion, than for himself to nominate his successor during his life, especially if he should make a prudent choice. For his people would be determined by his authority,

sity, and many measures might be taken to disappoint contrary designs; particularly, the exchanges so necessary to the affairs of Spain might be made, which a prince newly come to the sovereignty will find the greatest difficulty in executing, by reason of the various and unaccountable whimsies of the people, who, always regarding names more than things, will murmur against such great alterations being made by a stranger. Whereas, were these exchanges made by the present government, the only difficulty left to the new king would be to transport himself into his kingdom.

I HAVE NOW treated of the measures proper to be taken by the above-mentioned princes for obtaining the crown of Spain, the advantages each of them would bring to it, the opposition and difficulties they would find in their way, with the means to overcome them; and have shewn of how great benefit the exchange of certain states would be, to give them time to reform the affairs of Spain, and so to prepare her, without suspicion, for the monarchy of the world. It remains that I discourse concerning the methods to be pursued by the prince who succeeds to the crown of Spain, for acquiring a great increase of dominions to himself, and for opening to his successors the way to the universal empire. And, first, it seems unnecessary to lengthen this discourse, by demonstrating, that, should France carry her aim, by the delusive pretence of setting up the duke of Berry, though she should add nothing to her do-
mini-

minions but Spain and South-America, as was said above, yet, by the help of this accession, she might easily make herself mistress of the world. However, that I may not incur the charge of failing in what I promised, I will just observe, that we have seen the most christian king, in the course of the last war, make head against so formidable a confederacy of princes, as sufficiently proves, that with the accession mentioned, which brings along with it the mines of Peru, he would be far more powerful than all the other princes of Europe. Waving, therefore, as superfluous, any farther reasoning on this head, I shall only speak of the methods to be pursued by any other of the pretenders who shall succeed to the crown of Spain, in order to open the way for his successors to the empire of the world.

THE establishing of good orders in a kingdom that has fallen into confusion, appears, from the reasons formerly mentioned, to be a work of great difficulty, and that requires much dexterity; especially, when the prince is a stranger, and newly settled in the government he is to reform. After reflecting on this, I find I cannot do better than propose to such a prince the example of the catholic king Ferdinand; of whom the above-quoted author writes thus in his prince. ' Ferdinand, says ' he, may not be improperly called a new prince, ' as having, from a small and weak one, become, ' for reputation and glory, the first monarch of ' Christendom. He, in the beginning of his reign, ' in-



' invaded the kingdom of Granada, and this en-
 ' terprize was the foundation of his grandeur.
 ' For, first, he undertook it at his ease, and free
 ' from apprehensions of any body disturbing him;
 ' he kept the minds of the barons of Castile em-
 ' ployed by it, who, intent on war, had no lei-
 ' sure to think of innovations; and, by this
 ' means, he raised his reputation, and ere they
 ' were aware, increased his authority over them.
 ' He maintained his troops at the expence of the
 ' church and the people; and thus was enabled,
 ' in the course of so long a war, to form an army
 ' that has since gained him great honour.' An
 incomparable example, and extremely suited to
 the condition of such a prince, who, treading in
 the steps of this wise king, ought to make his first
 expedition against the Moors of Barbary. It is
 true, wars in Africa are difficult, and the expedi-
 tions of the Christians in this country have been
 generally unsuccessful; but this has arisen from
 their having been too slight, undertaken without
 a sufficient force, and ill conducted.

IN this war against the infidels, no-body will
 disturb or interrupt him; he will give no jealousy
 to any of the Christian powers; the church, and
 all Italy will give him money: his own people too
 will contribute chearfully, as no enterprize can be
 more for the benefit of Spain: for, by the con-
 quest of Fez and Morocco, kingdoms so near and
 fruitful, the household of this empire will be doub-
 led, by the addition of the country on the other

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side of the Straits. But the advantages arising in the course of the war will be much more considerable than the value of the conquests themselves; for, as our author observes, the minds of his subjects being turned on the war, and not on innovations in the state, he will raise his reputation, and strengthen his authority over them, unperceived; he will discipline his army, and, what is of greater moment than all the rest, the reputation of so great an enterprize will give him sufficient authority and credit to introduce new orders into the affairs of Spain and the Indies.

AND that we may now proceed to these, it will be first of all necessary to employ proper methods for re-peopling Spain and the Indies, and for engaging their inhabitants to apply themselves to agriculture, the mechanical arts, and commerce. A variety of methods might be proposed for re-peopling Spain and the Indies; but the want of inhabitants is so great, that ages must elapse before they could produce their effect, unless a toleration were given to all religions. I am not ignorant of the opposition this would meet with from the ecclesiastics; who, for the sake of their private interests, though quite repugnant to the spirit of peace, and of the gospel, are mortal enemies to all who do not blindly submit to their decisions; but to this may be opposed the reason of state, and extreme necessity. And truly it is more than time the Spaniards were undeceived in this respect, as many of them now are; and that

they should leave to the French that fatal error in government, of distressing and persecuting their people, on the score of religion, and of allowing none to be their subjects, but who are of the same opinion about the most sublime and difficult mysteries. And here, indeed, the French have shown themselves the greater fools, in not profiting by the fatal experience of the Spaniards. But if the latter should resolve on a toleration, the Indies would be soon filled with inhabitants, and Spain itself become very populous, which is the only foundation that can support a great empire: the churchmen too would be furnished with an opportunity of imitating their master, by converting great numbers to the faith. An increase of people draws naturally after it improvements in agriculture, the mechanical arts, commerce, and navigation; and, by the example of foreigners, the Spaniards would gradually be trained to labour and industry, and cured, by little and little, of that strong propensity to sloth and idleness, which has been one of the chief causes of their weakness. But should this remedy prove insufficient of itself, the most rigorous laws and regulations must be added to it, as for the cure of an obstinate evil. And in order both to draw strangers to the country, and to induce them to stay in it, as well as for protecting the natives themselves, measures must be taken to render the distribution of justice to all the subjects, even in the remotest provinces, exact, speedy, and attended with small

expendence; the cruelties also that are secretly committed in India must be punished with the utmost severity; and the prince must endeavour, by his own example, as the most powerful of all remedies, to correct that fantastic pride, which is so incompatible with all good government.

THE increase of commerce and navigation will augment the number of sailors, and render them expert and exercised in the management of a naval force; which this prince, copying the methods of the English, Dutch, and French, ought, by all possible means, to promote, and indeed to make the chief object of his attention. For, by means of this, as was observed, in speaking of the situation of Spain, he might, with greater facility than any other prince, both acquire and preserve the empire of the world. As for the reformation of their land-forces, for which service the Spanish nation is so happily formed, that, in the last age, it seemed as if military glory had become their peculiar property; it will be necessary to restore discipline, to imitate the antient methods of the Romans in their battles, marches, and encampments, and those of the French, in sieges. An infinity of other things might be added on this subject, but it is enough for me to have spoken of the most necessary; especially as my discourse is directed to princes, who have so great advantages for reforming a government, have the work wholly in their own hands, and can forward it so much by their example.

THESE foundations being once laid, were I to form a prognostic concerning the event, I should make no scruple of affirming, that the only thing wanting to such a prince, to put the vanquished world into his hands, would be the empire of the sea: and indeed, without this, it would be the greatest absurdity for him to think of extending his empire farther, as he would meet with infinite difficulties, in carrying on his wars in countries remote from Spain, and still greater, in preserving his conquests. On the other hand, should he begin with attacking his neighbours in Europe, he would inconsiderately discover his design of an universal monarchy, and expose himself to the greatest envy. The French, English, and Dutch, who are so strong at sea, would interrupt the communication betwixt Spain and his other dominions, destroy his fleets, obstruct his commerce; and, in a word, ruin every thing that ought to be the basis of his greatness. And, for acquiring this empire of the sea, he will have the greatest advantages, being master of an immense extent of coasts, and of convenient and capacious ports, on all sides, except the North, where the maritime forces of the three nations, just mentioned, lie. For supplying this defect, and, at the same time, to proceed with caution, he must enter into an alliance with one of these against the other two, obtaining from his ally a reception into all his ports, and, if possible, one of them to be garrisoned by Spanish soldiers, for erecting a maga-

zine of naval stores. And this step would give less suspicion, than if he should retain, from the beginning, the port of Ostend. It would be proper too, for preventing all suspicions, to employ only a part of his forces on this side; and, in the mean time, with the rest of them, to exterminate the fleets and colonies of his enemies in the Indies, Africa, and the Mediterranean-sea, where he will be strongest; shewing always the greatest regard to the interests of his ally, till, having driven the other two nations out of the sea, he have only him left to grapple with. Thus, in order to gain the empire of the sea, this prince ought to make the strongest possible efforts, and to place, as it were, all his glory in the success of this enterprize, because here indeed the whole difficulty lies; and having once surmounted it, he leaves the world in chains to his successors, as no more will be wanting to put a finishing hand to the work than time, and the continuance of the good orders mentioned above. For, after having acquired the empire of the sea, the remaining colonies of the Europeans in Asia, Africa, and the East-Indies, fall, without opposition, into his hands. France, which would come next to be attacked, weakened by the expulsions of the Calvinists, having lost its present king, and along with him the good orders established by him in his affairs, having neither horses fit for war, nor indeed men, except the nobility, by reason of the great misery of the people, will not be able to resist. The

English and Dutch, after losing their strength at sea, will become poor and inconsiderable. Italy is sunk in effeminacy, enervated by the ecclesiastics, and its own luxury. Germany, the only remaining nation of consequence, may make some resistance, but neither long nor vigorous against so vast a strength. The empire of the Turks, in its present most corrupt state, being at once attacked by land and sea, will fall an easy prey. Those of Persia, Muscovy, the Mogul, Tartary, China, and Japan, as so many empty names, will vanish before so great a power; serving only, by the strange variety and riches of the arms and dresses of their feeble inhabitants, to adorn trophies; in all which, the name of the restorer of the empire will shine above every other.

A

S P E E C H

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S T A T E of the N A T I O N ;

In April 1701.

G E N T L E M E N ,

IT seems, at first view, hard to determine, whether you would be more obliged to one, who should persuade you of the miserable and irretrievable condition, into which you are precipitating yourselves, and the rest of Europe; or to him, who, after you are convinced, should shew you how to escape. But as it is a much more difficult work to convince you of the true state of your affairs; so it seems to have this advantage, that when you know your danger, the frightful and terrible circumstances of your present condition will certainly make you improve every op-

portunity, and lay hold upon every thing that may in the least contribute to save you: and this will be the more easy for you to do, since such means are now in your power, as could hardly be expected on the like occasion; and which, if you neglect, you have resolved your own ruin. You were formerly convinced, that the French king was a dangerous neighbour, powerful and vigilant; that there was no end of his designs, no relying on his treaties; that he could corrupt not only those who, under your princes, had the management of public affairs, but even your princes themselves. The least increase of his power at sea, every considerable fort taken by him in Flanders, alarmed you in the highest degree. You were jealous of his secret treaties with your princes, and so industrious, that you discovered one, in which the abolition of parliaments, and suppression of your liberties were expressly stipulated; provided England would remain his ally, and not oppose the designs he had formed against the house of Austria, and the rest of Europe. You were then alarmed that no care was taken of the protestant religion abroad, and began from thence, and the debaucheries of your princes, to suspect them of inclining to a religion that allows men to live ill, and consecrates the arbitrary power of kings. But now, as if there were not the least ground to suspect any of these things, you are very easy: you concur with the designs of France and the court in every thing. France is too powerful to be opposed;
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you are too poor, and too much in debt, to make war. Yet France has seized the whole Spanish monarchy; and, if suffered to enjoy it quietly, he who formerly was able to oppose, may hereafter trample on the rest of mankind. It is no longer Conde, Linck, and the sluices of Newport he pretends: his troops fill Brussels, Antwerp, and the Spanish Gelderland. Ostend and Newport are, by your good conduct, added to Dunkirk, in order to receive his royal fleets, and harbour his pirates, who are to enrich themselves with the ruin of our trade. In this state of things you are for preserving the peace of Europe; which would be yet much better secured by your slavery. When king Charles the second went to Dover, and the French king came to Calais, gallantry and diversion seemed to be the only business of the two courts. It was not then and in those places publicly known that there was a secret treaty, yet you not only suspected one, but the design and intention of it also; and your suspicions were found to be well-grounded. Now, though two great armies have been witnesses, that the mareschal de Boufflers, and earl of Portland, were for several days employed in making a treaty (and sure it was a secret one, since none of you yet know what it was) you have not to this day taken the least notice of it. But can any man suspect the minister of a prince, who is said to have rejected a crown, and that of no contemptible country, by refusing to join in that very treaty of

Dover? Can he, that in a private condition resisted the arts of France, be supposed, now he is master of three kingdoms, and of a powerful state, to risk them all at once, and yield to those arts he before despised? To this, whatever other answer I could give, I shall only say at present, that we have always but too just ground to suspect all secret and close negotiations with France. But it seems you thought it not worth your inquiry, whether these negotiations were for your advantage or ruin. You will say, what ground was there of suspicion? for nothing appeared. I say, that of all others was the greatest. But who was it, that first as commissioned, and after as ambassador, was employed to treat? Was he an Englishman? And how were the plenipotentiaries of this nation used at the formal treaty? Were they not as pageants brought in to attend the show? Or as so many cyphers, that without the Dutchmen, who made the figure, could signify nothing? Yet this advantage we had, that the king having not been owned till the conclusion of the treaty, the abandoning of the protestant religion at Reswic cannot, with any colour of justice, be imputed to English ministers, but only to the plenipotentiaries of Holland: and you could not by any means conceive or entertain the least suspicion of indirect dealing in the private treaty, when you saw yourselves and your religion so fairly dealt with in that which was public. Yet, methinks, the abandoning of our antient allies, and entering in-

to the closest and most intire correspondence with France that has ever been seen between the two courts, ought to have moved you a little, and made you doubtful that a bargain was struck, unless you can think France uncapable of entering into any that may be to your disadvantage. Here indeed I know not what to say for you: and the best account I can give of your careless indifference, must be to set before you your present condition; which yet I fear will both offend and terrify you; I wish it may not throw you into despair. But such distempers are only to be cured by violent remedies: and I had rather venture your displeasure in doing my duty, than obtain the friendship of your enemies by omitting it. It is then thus. The English nation have now nothing remaining but the outward appearance and carcase, as I may call it, of their antient constitution. The spirit and soul is fled. Jealousy for public liberty is vanished. The court has so often renewed the same arts, methods, and counsels, and so often made trial of the several parties in the kingdom, as well as of the alliance of France, in order to compass their ends, that the nation begins to grow weary of opposing the same things, and very wisely thinks there can be no danger of such attempts as have so often failed. Besides, you are grown weary of that old antiquated care and concernment for the public: or at least have given it a new and better turn. Some of you improving your morals, which are
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so necessary for the preservation of liberty, in constant gaming, as others do their politics and skill in military matters by laying wagers. And even stock-jobbing makes you deeply concerned for the public affairs. Long sessions of parliament furnish great opportunities of knowing the interests of the several parties; by which you must needs know that of the nation, since the nation is made up of parties. And the court by frequent shifting from one party to another, has forced you to double your attendance upon them. So that as well those who are at this time to go off the guard, as those who are coming on, being equally willing, the one to continue, and the other to enter upon duty, the court craftily keeps both parties under arms, whilst the country has nothing to trust to, but a weak, unpaid, and disorderly militia party. And now I think I have sufficiently shewn the causes of our present indifference; since having so much business at home, you can hardly attend to what is doing abroad. Yet one would think, that a certain affair transacted abroad, in which your ministers are said to have had no small part, and which has made so great a noise in the world, might deserve a little consideration, and oblige you to make some reflection upon the motives of that undertaking: especially since it is of so extraordinary a nature, as to be the first of the kind, and like to prove of such consequence, as may involve the world in troubles and calamities, which perhaps may be of equal duration with
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its frame. And though, as a prodigious comet, it has alarmed the rest of the world, you did not see it till of late, and it is already vanished by the shutting of your eyes. As to what it may portend, you think it as foolish to enquire, as wise men do to attend the dreams of astrologers. In this I wish I could defend you; but that being utterly impossible, there remains nothing to be done, except only charitably to undeceive you, and shew, if you had time to spare from your great application to maintain the interests of your several parties, what consequences you must necessarily draw from things you all know and acknowledge. By this time you see it is the partition-treaty I mean. I say then, that from the first appearance of that treaty, it was not only evident, but foretold, by thousands even of the most ordinary capacity, that it would unavoidably throw the whole Spanish monarchy into the house of Bourbon. If some men of more penetration did happen so far to refine, as to put any other construction upon the treaty, it only proceeded from a charitable opinion they had taken up, that the design could not be so black, as it has since appeared by the conduct of most of the partitioners, ever since the death of the king of Spain: which has demonstrated to the world with what intention it was made. The letter of this treaty tells us of preserving the peace of Europe by dismembering the Spanish monarchy; but the spirit throws it intire into the family of Bourbon, intails an endless

less war upon Christendom, breaks the balance, which has preserved its liberty for two hundred years, and will consequently banish all remains of freedom, both civil and religious, from among men. This treaty, like an alarm-bell, rung over all Europe: pray God it may not prove to you a passing-bell! Poor helpless Spain, rather than divide the child, chose to give it intire to the harlot, to whom it did not belong. And she has got it; for the Solomon, who commanded to divide the child, did it not in order to do justice. Instead of the preservation of the peace of Europe, (for no great mischief was ever designed, but piety was still pretended) Europe must, from this time, be either in a posture of war, and so consumed by taxes; or in actual war, wasted by bloodshed and rapine, till she be forced to hold out her hands to the shackles, and submit to a worse condition. These are the glorious works of such governours as the world thinks they cannot be without, perhaps too truly: I mean those who are to execute God's judgements upon them. It is evident a treaty was made, which if it had taken effect, even in the plain meaning of the words, had broken the balance of Europe, and destroyed your trade in the Mediterranean, under the plausible pretence of avoiding a greater evil, into which it was contrived to throw you. Yet after all, you are positively resolved to rely upon the faith of those who contrived and concerted this, and obstinately bent to continue in peace,
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when the rest of Europe are to make the last push for their liberty. As those who are marked out for ruin are first bereft of understanding; so you, who see nothing but sham upon sham played upon you, seem to be altogether incapable of making the least reflection to what end they are designed.

You plainly see that those who, have the direction of your affairs, have broken the balance of Europe, and delivered a great part of the world into the hands of France. Yet to this hour it cannot enter in your heads that this was done for any end, nor can you allow it the least reflection. It is true, wise men love not to determine suddenly: you take yet a surer way not to mistake in your determination, which is, not to think. It is commonly said, that in this world nothing is to be had for nothing: but you make no doubt, that almost one half of the world may be given for nothing. The proverb I own is meant of money, and of private persons: but you are of opinion, that princes may be more disinterested, and less wise; or at least, that it is not much your business to enquire whether it be so or not. Besides, there is nothing to direct you in an inquiry touching this whole affair, there being no manner of resemblance between this treaty and that of Dover. For though the French king was a party concerned in both; yet he is now grown old, and would willingly, if you permit, pass the rest of his days in peace, and only apply himself to redress the disorders, and restore the vigour of
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the Spanish monarchy. The condition of the Dutch is much altered since the Dover treaty; for then they were partitioned, but now they are risen to the quality of partitioners. And we are in absolute security that nothing can be stipulated to our prejudice, since he who, then gloriously refusing a crown, broke the measures of king Charles and of France, now treats for us, and remains still as generously disinterested as ever, no advantage appearing to accrue by the treaty either to him or his. So that the Dover treaty affording no light at all in this affair, it still remains an impenetrable mystery, why France is allowed so many rich provinces in possession, and so many in reversion. For if the duke of Anjou be any more than a viceroy, it is in the power of his grandfather to make him less, and dispose of him and his dominions at his pleasure. But I have found the secret. You will say, pray what is it? What you might have found out as well as I, if you had any goodness in you. It was the pious design of preserving the peace of Europe, on which you see the whole treaty is founded. You will answer; All the world knows this as well as you. Ay; but you do not sufficiently reflect upon the eminent degree of that piety, so clearly demonstrated in a perfect resignation of all that the world calls honour and security, in order to continue the peace and quiet of the poor people of Europe. This was the thing that made us first sacrifice the balance of Christendom, together with a considerable

able part of our trade. After which, when, by the perfidiousness of our new allies, this treaty, that had cost us such a sacrifice to obtain, was impudently broken to the ruin of the balance, and putting ourselves, and antient allies, into the most imminent dangers, we took so high an affront, so irreparable an injury, with such an absolute resignation, and exemplary patience, as neither by word or deed to shew the least mark of resentment. But, like true christians, that we might do good to those who used us despitefully, and, by ways of meekness and condescension, bring them back to a sense of what they owe to us, we delayed the calling of the great council of the nation, till they had sent the new king to his kingdom, and put themselves into a posture of seizing Milan and Flanders, which they have since effected. And now we are so moderate, to ask only a most inconsiderable or rather ridiculous security; perhaps because the French king is now become more solvent. Truly, if we design not to enter into a war, we need not be nice upon any security; for all securities are alike, if France be permitted to increase in power. As to the security of a fleet, I say, that a people, who are resolved to have peace with their neighbours, at a time when it is highly the interest of their neighbours to keep peace with them, stand not in need of a fleet, unless it be to make a war of taxes upon themselves. And if the enemy, contrary to his present interest, should unite his whole sea-force

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to attack us, such a fleet as we are now setting out, is exactly calculated to receive damage and affront. But peace, cautionary towns, and moderate fleets will secure our trade, till we have freed ourselves from debt, and are grown so rich, that we can make war when we please: that is, after our enemies shall have disabled all those that we may now have for our allies, and be at leisure to deal with us alone. The honour indeed will be great to be single in the attack, against a power that has baffled the rest of the world: but I fear the danger will be no less; for they always go hand in hand. You will ask, perhaps, what one would have the nation do? Both houses have damned the treaty; and some considerable men may possibly be punished for it. I know there is yet more done; for by excusing the late chancellor, the blame is thrown upon the king; since in all free governments, some-body must be answerable for whatever is done with relation to the public. But hitherto nothing has been so much as thought of to retrieve us from that ruin, into which the treaty throws us. This is that, which one might justly expect from the nation; and not that they should content themselves with railing at the treaty, whilst they are allowing and concurring in the execution of the real and pernicious design of it. Some will say, let the emperor and the Dutch be principals in this war; we, who formerly were at the greatest expence in opposing France, will now be accessaries, and come in
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when we think fit. It would seem by this reasoning, that the power of France is diminished, and that you can overtake the growth of it when you please. Who told you that the Dutch, if they find themselves abandoned by you now, will not, for the sake of their trade, resolve to have peace at any rate? If the emperor be abandoned by both, is not the business at an end? What business? All opposition, by which the French may be hindered from bringing the affairs of Spain into order, and uniting those vast dominions to their empire. And this naturally leads me again to consider what return may be expected for the contrivance and execution of a treaty so infinitely advantageous to France. For whatever I have said before of a certain pious design; I fear I shall hardly persuade this wicked age of it. And though the heathens thought virtue a sufficient reward for itself; yet the christian religion, with more truth and solidity, has accompanied it with other advantages. If then the dominions accruing to France by this treaty, may justly be accounted the greatest that ever were procured for any nation, the returns ought certainly to be the greatest that can be made; or such as the benefactor puts the highest value upon. You will say, it is hard to judge of them; and that if I would insinuate any thing by the mention I made of the Dover treaty, the insinuation is ridiculous in a weakly man, without any probability of issue. I answer, if there should be such a tendency, I hope you do
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not take it for a virtuous inclination, and consequently ought to judge of it by the temper of the person, and the unreasonableness of every vicious disorder of the mind. No well-natured, generous, unthinking people, can ever penetrate the thoughts of a designing man. Does not an old miser, even though he want issue, increase in covetousness to the last hour of his life? Is ambition a less passion than avarice? Is not the conquest of free men more noble than that of slaves? Did ever any hero refuse to die in a great battle, in which kingdoms and powerful states were to fall with him, and serve for trophies to his hearse? But I will shew you the thing in another view, which perhaps will suit better with your temper and disposition. You will say, every prince would be absolute; and this inclination you think so agreeable to the nature of man, that no one can be without it. And indeed it would be strange you should trust them with so much power, under the greatest temptations of employing it that way, if you thought it a great crime to do so. Besides, it is not their interest to use arbitrary power cruelly. And you do not know what condition a prince, who, in order to good designs, should obtain it, might at his death leave you: perhaps in greater liberty than you ever enjoyed. If then, pursuant to these or the like thoughts, his majesty should have judged that the monarchy of Spain will prove a burden to the French, and rather weaken than strengthen them; by exhausting
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their treasures and men in defending and re-peopling those countries: if he should have considered, that nothing can so effectually oppose the great and growing power of France, as the united and neighbouring force of England and Holland; countries abounding in people, riches, and store of shipping; provided that force were upon a right foot, as well in respect to secrecy, as the unanimity of counsel and command, flowing from an unjarring direction, not subject to the storms of a house of commons, or the capricious of a free people, little conversant in foreign affairs; (which you will allow to be a very natural thought in a prince :) I say, if upon these considerations, the king, seeing the confederacy falling to pieces, and open force ineffectual, propose to himself, in order to obtain an advantageous peace, and lay a sure foundation for the destruction of France, to blind them with the ruinous fantom of Spain, and promise to enter into any measures they should propose, in order to deliver it to them, in case they would assist him to establish himself both here and in Holland. Was this design so criminal? Or could France do less for such a benefactor? I am afraid, I have put such a mask of innocence on this affair, that you will begin to like it. And in an age, when divisions and exchanges of countries are so frequently mentioned, who knows, whether the agreement may not be, to unite the whole seventeen provinces to the crown of England, and in lieu of them to give
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the kingdom of Portugal to Spain, which is a country as much more convenient for Spain than Flanders, as accession of strength is more advantageous than ruin. What a glorious government would the three kingdoms and the seventeen provinces be? Might they not, when united under one wise and absolute prince (for people of such different tempers, and so emulous of each other in trade, seem necessarily to require it) bid defiance not only to France, but to the world? Might they not for ever establish in themselves the empire of the sea, with an entire monopoly of trade; especially if it should please him to crown all his other actions, by leaving them possessed of such immunities as might secure the continuation of their trade for ever? Is there, after all, such a probable way of resisting the power of France? Or is it not the only way of saving both us and our religion, which is our main concern? You, being men of understanding, I resolve to leave it thus with you, though you should think me a courtier. For according to the judgement you shall make of what I have said, it will appear, whether it be possible to save you or not, and consequently whether it be to any purpose to give you or myself any farther trouble.

Τύραννοι ἔσονται, τυράννοι συγκατεργάζονται.

Herodot. Urania.

S P E E C H E S

S P E E C H E S

BY A

Member of the PARLIAMENT

WHICH

Began at Edinburgh the 6th of May, 1703.

Edinburgh ;

Printed in the Year M D C C I I I.

Advertisement.

SOME of the following Speeches are not placed in the order they were spoken, but in such an order as the matters they contain seem to require.

I.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I AM not surprized to find an act for a supply brought into this house at the beginning of a session. I know custom has, for a long time, made it common. But, I think, experience might teach us, that such acts should be the last of every session; or lie upon the table, till all other great affairs of the nation be finished, and then only granted. It is a strange proposition which is usually made in this house; that if we will give money to the crown, then the crown will give us good laws: as if we were to buy good laws of the crown, and pay money to our princes, that they may do their duty, and comply with their coronation oath. And yet this is not the worst; for we have often had promises of good laws, and when we have given the sums demanded, those promises have been broken, and the nation left to seek a remedy; which is not to be found, unless we obtain the laws we want, before we give a supply. And if this be a sufficient reason at all times to postpone a money-act, can we be blamed for doing so at this time, when the duty we owe to our country indispensably ob-

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liges us to provide for the common safety in case of an event, altogether out of our power, and which must necessarily dissolve the government, unless we continue and secure it by new laws; I mean the death of her majesty, which God in his mercy long avert? I move, therefore, that the house would take into consideration what acts are necessary to secure our religion, liberty, and trade, in case of the said event, before any act of supply, or other business whatever be brought into deliberation.

Act concerning offices, etc. brought
in by the same member.

‘ **T**HE estates of parliament taking into their
 ‘ consideration, that, to the great loss and
 ‘ detriment of this nation, great sums of money
 ‘ are yearly carried out of it, by those who wait and
 ‘ depend at court, for places and preferments in
 ‘ this kingdom: and that by Scotsmen, employing
 ‘ English interest at court, in order to obtain their
 ‘ several pretensions, this nation is in hazard of
 ‘ being brought to depend upon English ministers:
 ‘ and likewise considering, that by reason our
 ‘ princes do no more reside amongst us, they can-
 ‘ not be rightly informed of the merit of persons
 ‘ pretending to places, offices, and pensions;
 ‘ therefore our sovereign lady, with advice and
 ‘ con-

‘ consent of the estates of parliament, statutes and
‘ ordains, that after the decease of her majesty,
‘ whom God long preserve, and heirs of her body
‘ failing, all places and offices, both civil and
‘ military, and all pensions, formerly conferred
‘ by our kings, shall ever after be given by par-
‘ liament, by way of ballot.’

II.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

WHEN our kings succeeded to the crown of England, the ministers of that nation took a short way to ruin us, by concurring with their inclinations to extend the prerogative in Scotland; and the great places and pensions conferred upon Scotsmen by that court, made them to be willing instruments in the work. From that time this nation began to give away their privileges one after the other, though they then stood more in need of having them enlarged. And as the collections of our laws, before the union of the crowns, are full of acts to secure our liberty, those laws that have been made since that time are directed chiefly to extend the prerogative. And that we might not know what rights and liberties were still ours, nor be excited by the memory of what our ancestors enjoyed, to recover those we had lost, in the two last editions of our acts of

parliament the most considerable laws for the liberty of the subject are industriously and designedly left out. All our affairs, since the union of the crowns, have been managed by the advice of English ministers, and the principal offices of the kingdom filled with such men, as the court of England knew would be subservient to their designs: by which means they have had so visible an influence upon our whole administration, that we have, from that time, appeared to the rest of the world more like a conquered province, than a free independent people. The account is very short: whilst our princes are not absolute in England, they must be influenced by that nation; our ministers must follow the directions of the prince, or lose their places, and our places and pensions will be distributed according to the inclinations of a king of England, so long as a king of England has the disposal of them: neither shall any man obtain the least advancement, who refuses to vote in council and parliament under that influence. So that there is no way to free this country from a ruinous dependence upon the English court, unless by placing the power of conferring offices and pensions in the parliament, so long as we shall have the same king with England. The antient kings of Scotland, and even those of France, had not the power of conferring the chief offices of state, though each of them had only one kingdom to govern, and that the difficulty we labour under, of two kingdoms which have different interests

ests governed by the same king, did not occur. Besides, we all know that the disposal of our places and pensions is so considerable a thing to a king of England, that several of our princes, since the union of the crowns, have wished to be free from the trouble of deciding between the many pretenders. That which would have given them ease, will give us liberty, and make us significant to the common interest of both nations. Without this, it is impossible to free us from a dependence on the English court: all other remedies and conditions of government will prove ineffectual, as plainly appears from the nature of the thing; for who is not sensible of the influence of places and pensions upon all men and all affairs? If our ministers continue to be appointed by the English court, and this nation may not be permitted to dispose of the offices and places of this kingdom to balance the English bribery, they will corrupt every thing to that degree, that if any of our laws stand in their way, they will get them repealed. Let no man say, that it cannot be proved, that the English court has ever bestowed any bribe in this country. For they bestow all offices and pensions; they bribe us, and are masters of us at our own cost. It is nothing but an English interest in this house, that those, who wish well to our country, have to struggle with at this time. We may, if we please, dream of other remedies; but so long as Scotsmen must go to the English court to obtain offices of trust or profit in this kingdom,

those offices will always be managed with regard to the court and interest of England, though to the betraying of the interest of this nation, whenever it comes in competition with that of England. And what less can be expected, unless we resolve to expect miracles, and that greedy, ambitious, and for the most part necessitous men, involved in great debts, burdened with great families, and having great titles to support, will lay down their places, rather than comply with an English interest in obedience to the prince's commands? Now, to find Scotsmen opposing this, and willing that English ministers, for this is the case, should have the disposal of places and pensions in Scotland, rather than their own parliament, is matter of great astonishment; but that it should be so much as a question in the parliament, is altogether incomprehensible: and if an indifferent person were to judge, he would certainly say we were an English parliament. Every man knows that princes give places and pensions by the influence of those who advise them. So that the question comes to no more than, whether this nation would be in a better condition, if, in conferring our places and pensions, the prince should be determined by the parliament of Scotland, or by the ministers of a court, that make it their interest to keep us low and miserable. We all know that this is the cause of our poverty, misery and dependence. But we have been for a long time so poor, so miserable and

and depending, that we have neither heart nor courage, though we want not the means, to free ourselves.

III.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

PREJUDICE and opinion govern the world, to the great distress and ruin of mankind; and though we daily find men so rational as to charm by the disinterested rectitude of their sentiments in all other things, yet when we touch upon any wrong opinion with which they have been early prepossessed, we find them more irrational than any thing in nature; and not only not to be convinced, but obstinately resolved not to hear any reason against it. These prejudices are yet stronger when they are taken up by great numbers of men, who confirm each other through the course of several generations, and seem to have their blood tainted, or, to speak more properly, their animal spirits influenced by them. Of these delusions, one of the strongest, and most pernicious, has been a violent inclination in many men to extend the prerogative of the prince to an absolute and unlimited power. And though, in limited monarchies, all good men profess and declare themselves enemies to all tyrannical practices, yet many, even of these, are found ready to op-

pose such necessary limitations as might secure them from the tyrannical exercise of power in a prince, not on'y subject to all the infirmities of other men, but by the temptations arising from his power, to far greater. This humour has greatly increased in our nation, since the union of the crowns; and the slavish submissions, which have been made necessary to procure the favours of the court, have cherished and fomented a slavish principle. But I must take leave to put the representatives of this nation in mind, that no such principles were in this kingdom before the union of the crowns; and that no monarchy in Europe was more limited, nor any people more jealous of liberty than the Scots. These principles were first introduced among us after the union of the crowns, and the prerogative extended to the overthrow of our antient constitution, chiefly by the prelatical party; though the peevish, imprudent, and detestable conduct of the presbyterians, who opposed these principles only in others, drove many into them, gave them greater force, and rooted them more deeply in this nation. Should we not be ashamed to embrace opinions contrary to reason, and contrary to the sentiments of our ancestors, merely upon account of the uncharitable and insupportable humour and ridiculous conduct of bigots of any sort? If then no such principles were in this nation, and the constitution of our government had greatly limited the prince's power before the union of the crowns; dare any man say he is a Scotsman,
and

and refuse his consent to reduce the government of this nation, after the expiration of the intail, within the same limits as before that union? And if, since the union of the crowns, every one sees that we stand in need of more limitations; will any man act in so direct an opposition to his own reason, and the undoubted interest of his country, as not to concur in limiting the government yet more than before the union, particularly by the addition of this so necessary limitation for which I am now speaking? My lord, these are such clear demonstrations of what we ought to do in such conjunctures, that all men of common ingenuity must be ashamed of entering into any other measures. Let us not then tread in the steps of mean and fawning priests of any sort, who are always disposed to place an absolute power in the prince, if he on his part will gratify their ambition, and by all means support their form of church-government, to the persecution of all other men, who will not comply with their impositions. Let us begin where our ancestors left before the union of the crowns, and be, for the future, more jealous of our liberties, because there is more need. But I must take upon me to say, that he who is not for setting great limitations upon the power of the prince, particularly that for which I am speaking, in case we have the same king with England, can act by no principle, whether he be a presbyterian, prelatial, or prerogative-man, for the court of St. Germain's, or that

of Hanover ; I say, he can act by no principle unless that of being a slave to the court of England for his own advantage. And therefore let not those, who go under the name of prerogative-men, cover themselves with the pretext of principles in this case ; for such men are plainly for the prerogative of the English court over this nation, because this limitation is demanded only in case we come to have the same king with England.

Act for the security of the kingdom,
brought in by the same member.

‘ **T**HE estates of parliament considering,
 ‘ that when it shall please God to afflict this
 ‘ nation with the death of our sovereign lady the
 ‘ queen (whom God of his infinite mercy long
 ‘ preserve) if the same shall happen to be without
 ‘ heirs of her body, this kingdom may fall into
 ‘ great confusion and disorder before a successor
 ‘ can be declared. For preventing thereof, our
 ‘ sovereign lady, with advice and consent of the
 ‘ estates of parliament, statutes and ordains, that
 ‘ if, at the foresaid time, any parliament, or con-
 ‘ vention of estates, shall be assembled, then the
 ‘ members of that parliament or convention of
 ‘ estates shall take the administration of the go-
 ‘ vernment upon them: excepting those barons
 ‘ and borroughs, who, at the foresaid time, shall
 ‘ have

‘ have any place or pension, mediately or im-
‘ diately of the crown: whose commissions are
‘ hereby declared to be void; and that new
‘ members shall be chosen in their place: but if
‘ there be no parliament or convention of estates
‘ actually assembled, then the members of the
‘ current parliament shall assemble with all possible
‘ diligence: and if there be no current parlia-
‘ ment, then the members of the last dissolved
‘ parliament, or convention of estates, shall as-
‘ semble in like manner: and in those two last
‘ cases, so soon as there shall be one hundred
‘ members met, in which number the barons and
‘ borroughs before-mentioned are not to be rec-
‘ koned, they shall take the administration of the
‘ government upon them: but neither they, nor
‘ the members of parliament, or convention of
‘ estates, if at the time foresaid assembled, shall
‘ proceed to the weighty affair of naming and de-
‘ claring a successor, till twenty days after they
‘ have assumed the administration of the govern-
‘ ment: both that there may be time for all the
‘ other members to come to Edinburgh, which is
‘ hereby declared the place of their meeting, and
‘ for the election of new barons and borroughs in
‘ place above-mentioned. But so soon as the
‘ twenty days are elapsed, then they shall pro-
‘ ceed to the publishing, by proclamation, the
‘ conditions of government, on which they will
‘ receive the successor to the imperial crown of
‘ this realm; which, in the case only of our be-
‘ ing

‘ ing under the same king with England, are as
‘ follow.

1. ‘ THAT elections shall be made at every
‘ Michaelmas head-court for a new parliament
‘ every year; to sit the first of November next
‘ following, and adjourn themselves from time to
‘ time, till next Michaelmas: that they chuse
‘ their own president, and that every thing shall
‘ be determined by balloting, in place of voting.

2. ‘ THAT so many lesser barons shall be ad-
‘ ded to the parliament, as there have been noble-
‘ men created since the last augmentation of the
‘ number of the barons; and that in all time com-
‘ ing, for every nobleman that shall be created,
‘ there shall be a baron added to the parliament.

3. ‘ THAT no man have vote in parliament,
‘ but a nobleman or elected member.

4. ‘ THAT the king shall give the sanction to
‘ all laws offered by the estates; and that the
‘ president of the parliament be empowered
‘ by his majesty to give the sanction in his
‘ absence, and have ten pounds sterling a day
‘ salary.

5. ‘ THAT a committee of one and thirty mem-
‘ bers, of which nine to be a quorum, chosen
‘ out of their own number, by every parliament,
‘ shall, during the intervals of parliament, under
‘ the king, have the administration of the govern-
‘ ment, be his council, and accountable to the
‘ next parliament; with power in extraordinary
‘ occasions, to call the parliament together: and
‘ that

‘ that in the said council, all things be determin-
‘ ed by balloting, in place of voting.

6. ‘ THAT the king, without consent of par-
‘ liament, shall not have the power of making
‘ peace and war; or that of concluding any treaty
‘ with any other state or potentate.

7. ‘ That all places and offices, both civil and
‘ military, and all pensions formerly conferred by
‘ our kings, shall ever after be given by parlia-
‘ ment.

8. ‘ THAT no regiment or company of horse,
‘ foot, or dragoons, be kept on foot in peace or
‘ war, but by consent of parliament.

9. ‘ THAT all the fencible men of the nation,
‘ betwixt sixty and sixteen, be, with all diligence
‘ possible, armed with bayonets, and firelocks all
‘ of a caliber, and continue always provided in
‘ such arms, with ammunition suitable.

10. ‘ THAT no general indemnity, nor par-
‘ don for any transgression against the public,
‘ shall be valid without consent of parliament.

11. ‘ THAT the fifteen senators of the college
‘ of justice shall be incapable of being members
‘ of parliament, or of any other office, or any
‘ pension: but the salary that belongs to their
‘ place to be increased as the parliament shall
‘ think fit: that the office of president shall be in
‘ three of their number to be named by parlia-
‘ ment, and that there be no extraordinary lords.
‘ And also, that the lords of the justice-court shall

‘ be

‘ be distinct from those of the session, and under
‘ the same restrictions.

12. ‘ THAT if any king break in upon any of
‘ these conditions of government, he shall, by
‘ the estates, be declared to have forfeited the
‘ crown.

‘ WHICH proclamation made, they are to go
‘ on to the naming and declaring a successor:
‘ and when he is declared, if present, are to read
‘ to him the claim of right, and conditions of
‘ government above-mentioned, and to desire of
‘ him, that he may accept the crown according-
‘ ly; and he accepting, they are to administer to
‘ him the oath of coronation: but if the successor
‘ be not present, they are to delegate such of their
‘ own number as they shall think fit, to see the same
‘ performed, as said is: and are to continue in
‘ the administration of the government, until the
‘ successor his accepting of the crown, upon the
‘ foresaid terms, be known to them: whereupon
‘ having then a king at their head, they shall,
‘ by his authority, declare themselves a parlia-
‘ ment, and proceed to the doing of whatever
‘ shall be thought expedient for the welfare
‘ of the realm. And it is likewise, by the autho-
‘ rity aforesaid, declared, that if her present ma-
‘ jesty shall think fit, during her own time,
‘ with advice and consent of the estates of parlia-
‘ ment, failing heirs of her body, to declare a
‘ successor, yet nevertheless, after her majesty’s
‘ decease, the members of parliament or conven-
‘ tion

‘ tion shall, in the several cases, and after the
‘ manner above-specified, meet and admit the
‘ successor to the government, in the terms, and
‘ after the manner as said is. And it is hereby
‘ further declared, that after the decease of her
‘ majesty, and failing heirs of her body, the fore-
‘ mentioned manner and method shall, in the se-
‘ veral cases, be that of declaring and admitting
‘ to the government all those who shall hereafter
‘ succeed to the imperial crown of this realm :
‘ and that it shall be high treason for any man to
‘ own or acknowledge any person as king or queen
‘ of this realm, till they are declared and admit-
‘ ted in the above-mentioned manner. And last-
‘ ly, it is hereby declared, that by the death of her
‘ majesty, or any of her successors, all commis-
‘ sions, both civil and military, fall and are void.
‘ And that this act shall come in place of the
‘ seventeenth act of the sixth session of king Wil-
‘ liam’s parliament. And all acts and laws, that
‘ any way derogate from this present act, are
‘ hereby in so far declared void and abrogated.’

IV.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

IT is the utmost height of human prudence to
see and embrace every favourable opportunity ;
and if a word spoken in season does, for the most
part,

part, produce wonderful effects; of what consequence and advantage must it be to a nation in deliberations of the highest moment; in occasions, when past, for ever irretrievable, to enter into the right path, and take hold of the golden opportunity, which makes the most arduous things easy, and without which the most inconsiderable may put a stop to all our affairs? We have this day an opportunity in our hands which, if we manage to the advantage of the nation we have the honour to represent, we may, so far as the vicissitude and uncertainty of human affairs will permit, be for many ages easy and happy. But if we despise or neglect this occasion, we have voted our perpetual dependence on another nation. If men could always retain those just impressions of things they at some times have upon their minds, they would be much more steady in their actions. And as I may boldly say, that no man is to be found in this house, who, at some time or other, has not had that just sense of the miserable condition to which this nation is reduced by a dependence upon the English court, I should demand no more but the like impressions at this time to pass all the limitations mentioned in the draught of an act I have already brought into this house; since they are not limitations upon any prince, who shall only be king of Scotland, nor do any way tend to separate us from England; but calculated merely to this end, that so long as we continue to be under the same prince with our neighbour nation,

we

we may be free from the influence of English councils and ministers; that the nation may not be impoverished by an expensive attendance at court, and that the force and exercise of our government may be, as far as is possible, within ourselves. By which means trade, manufactures, and husbandry, will flourish, and the affairs of the nation be no longer neglected, as they have been hitherto. These are the ends to which all the limitations are directed, that English councils may not hinder the acts of our parliaments from receiving the royal assent; that we may not be engaged without our consent in the quarrels they may have with other nations; that they may not obstruct the meeting of our parliaments, nor interrupt their sitting; that we may not stand in need of posting to London for places and pensions, by which, whatever particular men may get, the nation must always be a loser, nor apply for the remedies of our grievances to a court, where, for the most part, none are to be had. On the contrary, if these conditions of government be enacted, our constitution will be amended, and our grievances be easily redressed by a due execution of our own laws, which to this day we have never been able to obtain. The best and wisest men in England will be glad to hear that these limitations are settled by us. For though the ambition of courtiers lead them to desire an uncontrollable power at any rate; yet wiser men will consider, that when two nations live under the same prince,
the

the condition of the one cannot be made intolerable, but a separation must inevitably follow, which will be dangerous if not destructive to both. The senate of Rome wisely determined in the business of the Privernates, that all people would take hold of the first opportunity to free themselves from an uneasy condition; that no peace could be lasting, in which both parties did not find their account; and that no alliance was strong enough to keep two nations in amity, if the condition of either were made worse by it. For my own part, my lord chancellor, before I will consent to continue in our present miserable and languishing condition after the decease of her majesty, and heirs of her body failing, I shall rather give my vote for a separation from England at any rate. I hope no man, who is now possessed of an office, will take umbrage at these conditions of government, though some of them seem to diminish, and others do intirely suppress the place he possesses: for besides the scandal of preferring a private interest before that of our country, these limitations are not to take place immediately. The queen is yet young, and by the grace of God may live many years, I hope longer than all those she has placed in any trust; and should we not be happy, if those who, for the future, may design to recommend themselves for any office, could not do it by any other way than the favour of this house, which they who appear for these conditions will deserve in a more eminent degree?

Would

Would we rather court an English minister for a place than a parliament of Scotland? Are we afraid of being taken out of the hands of English courtiers, and left to govern ourselves? And do we doubt whether an English ministry, or a Scots parliament will be most for the interest of Scotland? But that which seems most difficult in this question, and in which, if satisfaction be given, I hope no man will pretend to be dissatisfied with these limitations, is the interest of a king of Great Britain. And here I shall take liberty to say, that as the limitations do no way affect any prince that may be king of Scotland only, so they will be found highly advantageous to a king of Great Britain. Some of our late kings, when they have been perplexed about the affairs of Scotland, did let fall such expressions, as intimated they thought them not worth their application. And indeed we ought not to wonder if princes, like other men, should grow weary of toiling where they find no advantage. But to set this affair in a true light: I desire to know, whether it can be more advantageous to a king of Great Britain to have an unlimited prerogative over this country, in our present ill condition, which turns to no account, than that this nation, grown rich and powerful under these conditions of government, should be able upon any emergency to furnish a good body of land forces, with a squadron of ships for war, all paid by ourselves, to assist his majesty in the wars he may undertake for the defence of the protestant

testant religion and liberties of Europe. Now, since I hope I have shewn, that those who are for the prerogative of the kings of Scotland, and all those who are possessed of places at this time, together with the whole English nation, as well as a king of Great Britain, have cause to be satisfied with these regulations of government, I would know what difficulty can remain; unless that being accustomed to live in a dependency and unacquainted with liberty, we know not so much as the meaning of the word; nor if that should be explained to us, can ever persuade ourselves we shall obtain the thing, though we have it in our power, by a few votes, to set ourselves and our posterity free. To say that this will stop at the royal assent, is a suggestion disrespectful to her majesty, and which ought neither to be mentioned in parliament, nor be considered by any member of this house. And were this a proper time, I am confident I could say such things as, being represented to the queen, would convince her, that no person can have greater interest, nor obtain more lasting honour, by the enacting of the conditions of government, than her majesty. And if the nation be assisted in this exigency by the good offices of his grace the high commissioner, I shall not doubt to affirm, that in procuring this blessing to our country from her majesty, he will do more for us, than all the great men of that noble family, of which he is descended, ever did; though it seems to have been their peculiar province

vince for divers ages, to defend the liberties of this nation against the power of the English and the deceit of courtiers. What further arguments can I use to persuade this house to enact these limitations, and embrace this occasion, which we have so little deserved? I might bring many; but the most proper and effectual to persuade all, I take to be this: that our ancestors did enjoy the most essential liberties contained in the act I have proposed: and though some few of less moment are among them which they had not, yet they were in possession of divers others not contained in these articles: that they enjoyed these privileges when they were separated from England, had their prince living among them, and consequently stood not in so great need of these limitations. Now, since we have been under the same prince with England, and therefore stand in the greatest need of them, we have not only neglected to make a due provision of that kind, but in divers parliaments have given away our liberties, and upon the matter subjected this crown to the court of England: and are become so accustomed to depend on them, that we seem to doubt whether we shall lay hold of this happy opportunity to resume our freedom. If nothing else will move us, at least let us not act in opposition to the light of our own reason and conscience, which daily represents to us the ill constitution of our government; the low condition into which we are sunk, and the extreme poverty, distress, and misery

fery of our people. Let us consider whether we will have the nation continue in these deplorable circumstances, and lose this opportunity of bringing freedom and plenty among us. Sure the heart of every honest man must bleed daily, to see the misery in which our commons, and even many of our gentry, live; which has no other cause but the ill constitution of our government, and our bad government no other root, but our dependence upon the court of England. If our kings lived among us, it would not be strange to find these limitations rejected. It is not the prerogative of a king of Scotland I would diminish, but the prerogative of English ministers over this nation. To conclude, these conditions of government being either such as our ancestors enjoyed, or principally directed to cut off our dependence on an English court, and not to take place during the life of the queen; he who refuses his consent to them, whatever he may be by birth, cannot sure be a Scotsman by affection. This will be a true test to distinguish, not whig from tory, presbyterian from episcopal, Hanover from St. Germans, nor yet a courtier from a man out of place; but a proper test to distinguish a friend from an enemy to his country. And indeed we are split into so many parties, and cover ourselves with so many false pretexts, that such a test seems necessary to bring us into the light, and shew every man in his own colours. In a word, my lord chancellor, we are to consider, that though we suffer under
many

many grievances, yet our dependence upon the court of England is the cause of all, comprehends them all, and is the band that ties up the bundle. If we break this, they will all drop and fall to the ground: if not, this band will straiten us more and more, till we shall be no longer a people.

I THEREFORE humbly propose, that for the security of our religion, liberty, and trade, these limitations be declared by a resolution of this house, to be the conditions, upon which the nation will receive a successor to the crown of this realm, after the decease of her present majesty, and failing heirs of her body, in case the said successor shall be also king or queen of England.

V.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I AM sorry to hear what has been just now spoken from the throne. I know the duty I owe to her majesty, and the respect that is due to her commissioner; and therefore shall speak with a just regard to both. But the duty I owe to my country obliges me to say, that what we have now heard from the throne, must of necessity proceed from English councils. If we had demanded, that these limitations should take place during the life of her majesty, or of the heirs of her body,

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perhaps we might have no great reason to complain, though they should be refused. But that her majesty should prefer the prerogative of she knows not who, to the happiness of the whole people of Scotland; that she should deny her assent to such conditions of government as are not limitations upon the crown of Scotland, but only such as are absolutely necessary to relieve us from a subjection to the court of England, must proceed from English councils; as well because there is no Scots minister now at London, as because I have had an account, which I believe to be too well-grounded, that a letter to this effect has been sent down hither by the lord treasurer of England, not many days ago. Besides, all men who have lately been at London well know, that nothing has been more common, than to see Scotsmen of the several parties addressing themselves to English ministers about Scots affairs; and even to some ladies of that court, whom, for the respect I bear to their relations, I shall not name. Now, whether we shall continue under the influence and subjection of the English court; or whether it be not high time to lay before her majesty, by a vote of this house, the conditions of government upon which we will receive a successor, I leave to the wisdom of the parliament. This I must say, that to tell us any thing of her majesty's intentions in this affair, before we have presented any act to that purpose for the royal assent, is to prejudge the cause, and altogether unparliamentary. I will

will add, that nothing has ever shewn the power and force of English councils upon our affairs in a more eminent manner at any time, since the union of the crowns. No man in this house is more convinced of the great advantage of that peace which both nations enjoy by living under one prince. But as on the one hand, some men, for private ends, and in order to get into offices, have either neglected or betrayed the interest of this nation, by a mean compliance with the English court; so on the other side it cannot be denied, that we have been but indifferently used by the English nation. I shall not insist upon the affair of Darien, in which, by their means and influence chiefly, we suffered so great a loss both in men and money, as to put us almost beyond hope of ever having any considerable trade; and this contrary to their own true interest, which now appears but too visibly. I shall not go about to enumerate instances of a provoking nature in other matters, but keep myself precisely to the thing we are upon. The English nation did, some time past, take into consideration the nomination of a successor to that crown; an affair of the highest importance, and, one would think, of common concernment to both kingdoms, Did they ever require our concurrence? Did they ever desire the late king to cause the parliament of Scotland to meet, in order to take our advice and consent? Was not this to tell us plainly, that we ought to be concluded by their determinations, and were not

worthy to be consulted in the matter? Indeed, my lord chancellor, considering their whole carriage in this affair, and the broad insinuations we have now heard, that we are not to expect her majesty's assent to any limitations on a successor (which must proceed from English council) and considering we cannot propose to ourselves any other relief from that servitude we lie under by the influence of that court; it is my opinion, that the house come to a resolution, *That after the decease of her majesty, heirs of her body failing, we will separate our crown from that of England.*

VI.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THAT there should be limitations on a successor, in order to take away our dependence on the court of England, if both nations should have the same king, no man here seems to oppose. And I think very few will be of opinion, that such limitations should be deferred till the meeting of the nation's representatives upon the decease of her majesty. For if the successor be not named before that time, every one will be so earnest to promote the pretensions of the person he most affects, that new conditions will be altogether forgotten. So that those who are only in
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appearance for these limitations, and in reality against them, endeavour for their last refuge to mislead well-meaning men, by telling them, that it is not advisable to put them into the act of security, as well for fear of losing all, as because they will be more conveniently placed in a separate act. My lord chancellor, I would fain know if any thing can be more proper in an act which appoints the naming and manner of admitting a successor, than the conditions on which we agree to receive him. I would know, if the deferring of any thing, at a time when naturally it should take place, be not to put a slur upon it, and an endeavour to defeat it. And if the limitations in question are pretended to be such a burden in the act, as to hazard the loss of the whole, can we expect to obtain them when separated from the act? Is there any common sense in this? Let us not deceive ourselves, and imagine that the act of 1696 does not expire immediately after the queen and heirs of her body; for in all that act, the heirs and successors of his late majesty king William are always restrained and specified by these express words, 'according to the declaration of the estates, dated the 11th of April 1689.' So that unless we make a due provision by some new law, a dissolution of the government will ensue immediately upon the death of her majesty, failing heirs of her body. Such an act therefore being of absolute and indispensable necessity, I am of opinion, that the limitations ought to be inserted there-

in as the only proper place for them, and surest way to obtain them: and that whoever would separate them, does not so much desire we should obtain the act, as that we should lose the limitations.

VII.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I HOPE I need not inform this honourable house, that all acts which can be proposed for the security of this kingdom, are vain and empty propositions, unless they are supported by arms; and that to rely upon any law, without such a security, is to lean upon a shadow. We had better never pass this act: for then we shall not imagine we have done any thing for our security; and if we think we can do any thing effectual without that provision, we deceive ourselves, and are in a most dangerous condition. Such an act cannot be said to be an act for the security of any thing, in which the most necessary clause is wanting, and without which all the rest is of no force: neither can any kingdom be really secured but by arming the people. Let no man pretend that we have standing forces to support this law; and that if their numbers be not sufficient, we may raise more. It is very well known this nation cannot maintain so many standing forces

forces as would be necessary for our defence, though we could intirely rely upon their fidelity. The possession of arms is the distinction of a free-man from a slave. He who has nothing, and belongs to another, must be defended by him, and needs no arms: but he who thinks he is his own master, and has any thing he may call his own, ought to have arms to defend himself and what he possesses, or else he lives precariously and at discretion. And though for a while those who have the sword in their power abstain from doing him injuries; yet, by degrees, he will be awed into a submission to every arbitrary command. Our ancestors, by being always armed, and frequently in action, defended themselves against the Romans, Danes, and English; and maintained their liberty against the incroachments of their own princes. If we are not rich enough to pay a sufficient number of standing forces, we have at least this advantage, that arms in our own hands serve no less to maintain our liberty at home, than to defend us from enemies abroad. Other nations, if they think they can trust standing forces, may, by their means, defend themselves against foreign enemies. But we, who have not wealth sufficient to pay such forces, should not, of all nations under heaven, be unarmed. For us then to continue without arms, is to be directly in the condition of slaves: to be found unarmed, in the event of her majesty's death, would be to have no manner of security for our liberty, property, or the

independence of this kingdom. By being unarmed, we every day run the risk of our all, since we know not how soon that event may overtake us: to continue still unarmed, when, by this very act now under deliberation, we have put a case, which happening may separate us from England, would be the grossest of all follies. And if we do not provide for arming the kingdom in such an exigency, we shall become a jest and a proverb to the world.

VIII.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

IF in the sad event of her majesty's decease without heirs of her body, any considerable military force should be in the hands of one or more men, who might have an understanding together, we are not very sure what use they would make of them in so nice and critical a conjuncture. We know, that as the most just and honourable enterprizes, when they fail, are accounted in the number of rebellions; so all attempts, however unjust, if they succeed, always purge themselves of all guilt and imputation. If a man presume he shall have success, and obtain the utmost of his hopes, he will not too nicely examine the point of right, nor balance too scrupulously the injury
he

he does to his country. I would not have any man take this for a reflection upon those honourable persons, who have at present the command of our troops. For, besides, that we are not certain, who shall be in those commands at the time of such an event, we are to know that all men are frail, and the wicked and mean-spirited world has paid too much honour to many, who have subverted the liberties of their country. We see a great disposition at this time in some men, not to consent to any limitations on a successor, though we should name the same with England. And therefore since this is probably the last opportunity we shall ever have, of freeing ourselves from our dependence on the English court, we ought to manage it with the utmost jealousy and diffidence of such men. For though we have ordered the nation to be armed and exercised, which will be a sufficient defence when done; yet we know not but the event, which God avert, may happen before this can be effected. And we may easily imagine, what a few bold men, at the head of a small number of regular troops, might do, when all things are in confusion and suspense. So that we ought to make effectual provision, with the utmost circumspection, that all such forces may be subservient to the government and interest of this nation, and not to the private ambition of their commanders. I therefore move, that immediately upon the decease of her majesty, all military commissions above that of a captain be null and void.

IX.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I KNOW it is the undoubted prerogative of her majesty, that no act of this house shall have the force of a law without her royal assent. And as I am confident his grace the high commissioner is sufficiently instructed, to give that assent to every act which shall be laid before him; so more particularly to the act for the security of the kingdom, which has already past this house: an act that preserves us from anarchy: an act that arms a defenceless people: an act that has cost the representatives of this kingdom much time and labour to frame, and the nation a very great expence: an act that has passed by a great majority: and above all, an act that contains a caution of the highest importance for the amendment of our constitution. I did not presume the other day, immediately after this act was voted, to desire the royal assent; I thought it a just deference to the high commissioner, not to mention it at that time. Neither would I now, but only that I may have an opportunity to represent to his grace, that as he who gives readily doubles the gift; so his grace has now in his hands the most glorious and honourable occasion, that any person of
this

this nation ever had, of making himself acceptable, and his memory for ever grateful to the people of this kingdom : since the honour of giving the royal assent to a law, which lays a lasting foundation for their liberties, has been reserved to him.

X.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

ON the day that the act for the security of the kingdom passed in this house, I did not presume to move for the royal assent. The next day of our meeting, I mentioned it with all imaginable respect and deference for his grace the high commissioner, and divers honourable persons seconded me. If now, after the noble lord who spoke last, I insist upon it, I think I am no way to be blamed. I shall not endeavour to shew the necessity of this act, in which the whole security of the nation now lies, having spoken to that point the other day : but shall take occasion to say something concerning the delay of giving the royal assent to acts passed in this house ; for which I could never hear a good reason, except that a commissioner was not sufficiently instructed. But that cannot be the true reason at this time, because several acts have lain long for the royal as-

sent: in particular, that to ratify a former act, for turning the convention into a parliament, and fencing the claim of right, which no man doubts his grace is sufficiently instructed to pass. We must therefore look elsewhere for the reason of this delay, and ought to be excused in doing this; since so little regard is had, and so little satisfaction given to the representatives of this nation, who have for more than three months employed themselves with the greatest assiduity in the service of their country, and yet have not seen the least fruit of their labours crowned with the royal assent. Only one act has been touched, for recognizing her majesty's just right, which is a thing of course. This gives but too good reason to those who speak freely, to say that the royal assent is industriously suspended, in order to oblige some men to vote, as shall be most expedient to a certain interest; and that this session of parliament is continued so long, chiefly to make men uneasy, who have neither places nor pensions to bear their charges; that by this means acts for money, importation of French wine, and the like, may pass in a thin house, which will not fail immediately to receive the royal assent, whilst the acts that concern the welfare, and perhaps the very being of the nation, remain untouched.

XI.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

BEING under some apprehensions that her majesty may receive ill advice in this affair, from ministers who frequently mistake former bad practices for good precedents, I desire that the third act of the first session of the first parliament of king Charles the second may be read.

Act the third of the first session, par. I.
Car. II.

Act asserting his majesty's royal prerogative, in calling and dissolving of parliaments, and making of laws.

‘ **T**HE estates of parliament, now convened
‘ by his majesty's special authority, considering that the quietness, stability, and happiness of the people, do depend upon the safety of the king's majesty's sacred person, and the maintenance of his sovereign authority, princely power, and prerogative royal; and conceiving themselves obliged in conscience, and in discharge
‘ charge

‘ charge of their duties to almighty God, to the
‘ king’s majesty, and to their native country, to
‘ make a due acknowledgement thereof at this
‘ time, do therefore unanimously declare, that
‘ they will, with their lives and fortunes, main-
‘ tain and defend the same. And they do here-
‘ by acknowlege, that the power of calling, hold-
‘ ing, proroguing, and dissolving of parliaments,
‘ and all conventions and meetings of the estates,
‘ does solely reside in the king’s majesty, his heirs
‘ and successors. And that as no parliament can
‘ be lawfully kept, without the special warrant
‘ and presence of the king’s majesty, or his com-
‘ missioner; so no acts, sentences or statutes, to
‘ be passed in parliament, can be binding upon
‘ the people, or have the authority and force of
‘ laws, without the special authority and appro-
‘ bation of the king’s majesty, or his commissi-
‘ oner interponed thereto, at the making thereof.
‘ And therefore the king’s majesty, with advice
‘ and consent of his estates of parliament, doth
‘ hereby rescind and annul all laws, acts, statutes,
‘ or practices that have been, or upon any pre-
‘ text whatsoever may be, or seem contrary to,
‘ or inconsistent with, his majesty’s just power
‘ and prerogative above-mentioned; and declares
‘ the same to have been unlawful, and to be void
‘ and null in all time coming. And to the end
‘ that this act and acknowledgement, which the
‘ estates of parliament, from the sense of their
‘ humble duty and certain knowlege, have hereby
‘ made,

‘ made, may receive the more exact obedience in
‘ time coming; it is by his majesty, with advice
‘ foresaid, statute and ordained, that the punctual
‘ observance thereof be specially regarded by all
‘ his majesty’s subjects, and that none of them,
‘ upon any pretext whatsoever, offer to call in
‘ question, impugn, or do any deed to the con-
‘ trary hereof, under pain of treason.’

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THE questions concerning the king’s prerogative and the peoples privileges are nice and difficult. Mr. William Colvin, who was one of the wisest men this nation ever had, used to say concerning defensive arms, that he wished all princes thought them lawful, and the people unlawful. And indeed I heartily wish, that something like these moderate sentiments might always determine all matters in question between both. By the constitution of this kingdom, no act of the estates had the force of a law, unless touched by the king’s scepter, which was his undoubted prerogative. The touch of his scepter gave authority to our laws, as his stamp did a currency to our coin: but he had no right to refuse or withhold either. It is pretended by some men, that in virtue of this act, the king may refuse the royal assent to acts passed by the estates of the kingdom. But it ought to be considered, that this law is only an acknowledgement and declaration

tion of the king's prerogative, and consequently gives nothing new to the prince. The act acknowledges this to be the prerogative of the king, that whatever is passed in this house, cannot have the force of a law without the royal assent, and makes it high treason to question this prerogative; because the parliament, during the civil war, had usurped a power of imposing their own votes upon the people for law, though neither the king, nor any person commissioned by him were present: and this new law was wholly and simply directed to abolish and rescind that usurpation, as appears by the tenour and express words of the act; which does neither acknowledge nor declare, that the prince has a power to refuse the royal assent to any act presented by the parliament. If any one should say, that the lawgivers designed no less, and that the principal contrivers and promoters of the act frequently boasted they had obtained the negative, as they call it, for the crown; I desire to know how they will make that appear, since no words are to be found in the act, that shew any such design: especially if we consider, that this law was made by a parliament that spoke the most plainly, least equivocally, and most fully of all others concerning the prerogative. And if those who promoted the passing of this act were under so strong a delusion, to think they had obtained a new and great prerogative to the crown by a declaratory law, in which there is not one word to that purpose, it was the hand of heaven that

that defeated their design of destroying the liberty of their country. I know our princes have refused their assent to some acts since the making of this law: but a practice introduced in arbitrary times can deserve no consideration. For my own part, I am far from pushing things to extremity on either hand: I heartily enter into the sentiments of the wise man I mentioned before, and think the people of this nation might have been happy in mistaking the meaning of this law, if such men, as have had the greatest credit with our princes, would have let them into the true sense of it. And therefore those, who have the honour to advise her majesty, should beware of inducing her to a refusal of the royal assent to the act for the security of the kingdom, because the unwarrantable custom of rejecting acts was introduced in arbitrary times.

XII.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

IT is often said in this house, that parliaments, and especially long sessions of parliament, are a heavy tax and burden to this nation: I suppose they mean as things are usually managed: otherwise I should think it a great reflection on the wisdom of the nation, and a maxim very pernicious
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to our government. But indeed in the present state of things, they are a very great burden to us. Our parliament seldom meets in winter, when the season of the year, and our own private affairs, bring us to town. We are called together for the most part in summer, when our country business, and the goodness of the season, make us live in town with regret. Our parliaments are sitting both in seed-time and harvest, and we are made to toil the whole year. We meet one day in three; though no reason can be given why we should not meet every day, unless such a one, as I am unwilling to name, lest thereby occasion should be taken to mention it elsewhere to the reproach of the nation. The expences of our commissioners are now become greater than those of our kings formerly were: and a great part of this money is laid out upon equipage, and other things of foreign manufacture, to the great damage of the kingdom. We meet in this place in the afternoon, after a great dinner, which I think is not the time of doing business; and are in such confusion after the candles are lighted, that very often the debate of one single point cannot be finished; but must be put off to another day. Parliaments are forced to submit to the conveniences of the lords of the session, and meetings of the boroughs; though no good reason can be given, why either a lord of the session, or any one deputed to the meetings of the boroughs, should be a member of this house; but on the contrary,

experience has taught us the inconvenience of both. When members of parliament, to perform the duty they owe to their country, have left the most important affairs, and quitted their friends many times in the utmost extremity, to be present at this place, they are told they may return again; as we were the other day called together only in order to be dismissed. We have been for several days adjourned in this time of harvest, when we had the most important affairs under deliberation; that as well those, who have neither place nor pension, might grow weary of their attendance, as those whose ill state of health makes the service of their country as dangerous, though no less honourable than if they served in the field. Do not these things shew us the necessity of those limitations, I had the honour to offer to this house? and particularly of that for lodging the power of adjournments in the parliament; that for meetings of parliament to be in winter; that for empowering the president to give the royal assent, and ascertaining his salary; with that for excluding all lords of the session from being members of parliament. Could one imagine that in this parliament, in which we have had the first opportunity of amending our constitution by new conditions of government, occasion should be given by reiterating former abuses, to convince all men of the necessity of farther limitations upon a successor? Or is not this rather to be attributed to a peculiar providence, that those who are the great opposers of
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limitations, should, by their conduct, give the best reason for them? But I hope no member of this house will be discouraged either by delay or opposition; because the liberties of a people are not to be maintained without passing through great difficulties, and that no toil and labours ought to be declined to preserve a nation from slavery.

XIII.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

I HAVE waited long and with great patience for the result of this session, to see if I could discover a real and sincere intention in the members of this house, to restore the freedom of our country in this great and, perhaps, only opportunity. I know there are many different views among us, and all men pretend the good of the nation. But every man here is obliged carefully to examine the things before us, and to act according to his knowlege and conscience, without regard to the views of other men, whatever charity he may have for them: I say, every man in this place is obliged, by the oath he has taken, to give such advice as he thinks most expedient for the good of his country. The principal business of this session has been the forming of an act for the security of the kingdom, up-
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on the expiration of the present intail of the crown. And though one would have thought, that the most essential thing which could have entered into such an act, had been to ascertain the conditions on which the nation would receive a successor, yet this has been entirely waved and over-ruled by the house. Only there is a caution inserted in the act, that the successor shall not be the same person who is to succeed in England, unless such conditions of government be first enacted, as may secure the freedom of this nation. But this is a general and indefinite clause, and liable to the dangerous inconveniency of being declared to be fulfilled by giving us two or three inconsiderable laws. So that this session of parliament, in which we have had so great an opportunity of making ourselves for ever a free people, is like to terminate without any real security for our liberties, or any essential amendment of our constitution. And now, when we ought to come to particulars, and enact such limitations as may fully satisfy the general clause, we must amuse ourselves with things of little significancy, and hardly mention any limitation of moment or consequence. But instead of this, acts are brought in for regulations to take place during the life of the queen, which we are not to expect, and quite draw us off from the business we should attend. By these methods divers well-meaning men have been deluded, whilst others have proposed a present nomination of a successor
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under limitations. But I fear the far greater part have designed to make their court either to her majesty, the house of Hanover, or those of St. Germain's, by maintaining the prerogative in Scotland as high as ever, to the perpetual enslaving of this nation to the ministers of England. Therefore I, who have never made court to any prince, and I hope never shall, at the rate of the least prejudice to my country, think myself obliged in discharge of my conscience, and the duty of my oath in parliament, to offer such limitations as may answer the general clause in the act for the security of the kingdom. And this I do in two draughts, the one containing the limitations by themselves; the other with the same limitations, and a blank for inserting the name of a successor. If the house shall think fit to take into consideration that draught which has no blank, and enact the limitations, I shall rest satisfied, being as little fond of naming a successor as any man. Otherwise, I offer the draught with a blank; to the end that every man may make his court to the person he most affects; and hope by this means to please all parties: the court in offering them an opportunity to name the successor of England, a thing so acceptable to her majesty and that nation: those who may favour the court of St. Germain's, by giving them a chance for their pretensions; and every true Scotsman, in vindicating the liberty of this nation, whoever be the successor.

FIRST DRAUGHT.

OUR sovereign lady, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, statutes and ordains, that after the decease of her majesty, whom God long preserve, and failing heirs of her body, no one shall succeed to the crown of this realm that is likewise successor to the crown of England, but under the limitations following, which, together with the oath of coronation and claim of right, they shall swear to observe. That all places and offices, both civil and military, and all pensions formerly conferred by our kings, shall ever after be given by parliament.— That a new parliament shall be chosen every Michaelmas head-court, to sit the first of November thereafter, and adjourn themselves from time to time till next Michaelmas; and that they chuse their own president.— That a committee of thirty-six members, chosen by and out of the whole parliament, without distinction of estates, shall, during the intervals of parliament, under the king, have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to parliament; with power, in extraordinary occasions, to call the parliament together.'

SECOND

SECOND DRAUGHT.

‘ OUR sovereign lady, with advice and con-
 ‘ sent of the estates of parliament, statutes
 ‘ and ordains, that after the decease of her ma-
 ‘ jesty, whom God long preserve, and heirs of
 ‘ her body failing,
 ‘ shall succeed to the crown of
 ‘ this realm. But that in case the said successor
 ‘ be likewise the successor to the crown of Eng-
 ‘ land, the said successor shall be under the limi-
 ‘ tations following,’ etc.

No man can be an enemy to these limitations, in case we have the same king with England, except he who is so shameless a partizan either of the court at St. Germain, or the house of Hanover, that he would rather see Scotland continue to depend upon an English ministry, than that their prerogative should be any way lessened in this kingdom. As for those who have St. Germain in their view, and are accounted the highest of all the prerogative-men, I would ask them, if we should assist them in advancing their prince to the throne of Great Britain, are we, for our reward, to continue still in our former dependence on the English court? These limitations are the only test to discover a lover of his country from a cour-
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tier either to her majesty, Hanover, or St. Germans. For prerogative-men, who are for enslaving this nation to the directions of another court, are courtiers to any successor; and let them pretend what they will, if their principles lead necessarily to subject this nation to another, are enemies to the nation. These men are so absurd as to provoke England, and yet resolve to continue slaves of that court. This country must be made a field of blood, in order to advance a papist to the throne of Britain. If we fail, we shall be slaves by right of conquest; if we prevail, have the happiness to continue in our former slavish dependence. And though to break this yoke, all good men would venture their all, yet I believe few will be willing to lie at the mercy of France and popery, and at the same time draw upon themselves the indignation and power of England, for the sake only of measuring our strength with a much more powerful nation; and to be sure to continue still under our former dependence, though we should happen to prevail. Now, of those who are for the same successor with England, I would ask, if in that case we are not also to continue in our former dependence; which will not fail always to grow from bad to worse, and at length become more intolerable to all honest men, than death itself. For my own part, I think, that even the most zealous protestant in the nation, if he have a true regard for his country, ought rather to wish, were it consistent with our claim

claim of right, that a papist should succeed to the throne of Great Britain, under such limitations as would render this nation free and independent, than the most protestant and best prince, without any. If we may live free, I little value who is king: it is indifferent to me, provided the limitations be enacted, to name or not name; Hanover, St. Germans, or whom you will.

XIV.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

HIS grace, the high commissioner, having acquainted this house, that he has instructions from her majesty, to give the royal assent to all acts passed in this session, except that for the security of the kingdom, it will be highly necessary to provide some new laws for securing our liberty upon the expiration of the present entail of the crown. And therefore I shall speak to the first article of the limitations contained in the short act I offered the other day; not only because it is the first in order, but because I persuade myself you all know that parliaments were formerly chosen annually; that they had the power of appointing the times of their meetings and adjournments, together with the nomination of committees to superintend the administration of the government during the intervals

vals of parliament: all which, if it were necessary, might be proved by a great number of public acts. So that if I demonstrate the use and necessity of the first article, there will remain no great difficulty concerning the rest.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THE condition of a people, however unhappy, if they not only know the cause of their misery, but have also the remedy in their power, and yet should refuse to apply it, one would think, were not to be pitied. And though the condition of good men, who are concluded and oppressed by a majority of the bad, is much to be lamented; yet christianity teaches us to shew a greater measure of compassion to those who are knowingly and voluntarily obstinate to ruin both themselves and others. But the regret of every wise and good man must needs be extraordinary, when he sees the liberty and happiness of his country not only obstructed, but utterly extinguished by the private and transitory interest of self-designing men, who indeed very often meet their own ruin, but most certainly bring destruction upon their posterity by such courses. Sure if a man who is intrusted by others, should, for his own private advantage, betray that trust, to the perpetual and irrecoverable ruin of those who trusted him, the liveliest sense and deepest remorse for so great guilt, will undoubtedly seize and terrify the conscience of

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such a man, as often as the treacherous part he has acted shall recur to his thoughts; which will most frequently happen in the times of his distress, and the nearer he approaches to a life in which those remorsees are perpetual. But I hope every man in this house has so well considered these things, as to preserve him from falling into such terrible circumstances: and (as all men are subject to great failings) if any person, placed in this most eminent trust, is conscious to himself of having ever been wanting in duty to his country, I doubt not he will this day, in this weighty matter, atone for all, and not blindly follow the opinion of other men, because he alone must account for his own actions to his great Lord and Master.

THE limitation, to which I am about to speak, requires, that all places, offices, and pensions, which have been formerly given by our kings, shall, after her majesty and heirs of her body, be conferred by parliament, so long as we are under the same prince with England. Without this limitation, our poverty and subjection to the court of England will every day increase; and the question we have now before us is, whether we will be freemen or slaves for ever? whether we will continue to depend, or break the yoke of our dependence? and whether we will chuse to live poor and miserable, or rich, free, and happy? Let no man think to object, that this limitation takes away the whole power of the prince. For the same condition of government is found in one of the

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the most absolute monarchies of the world. I have very good authority for what I say, from all the best authors that have treated of the government of China; but shall only cite the words of an able minister of state, who had very well considered whatever had been written on that subject; I mean Sir William Temple, who says, ‘ That
‘ for the government, it is absolute monarchy,
‘ there being no other laws in China, but the
‘ king’s orders and commands; and it is likewise
‘ hereditary, still descending to the next of blood.
‘ But all orders and commands of the king proceed through his councils; and are made upon
‘ the recommendation or petition of the council
‘ proper and appointed for that affair: so that all
‘ matters are debated, determined, and concluded
‘ by the several councils; and then upon their
‘ advices and requests made to the king, they are
‘ ratified and signed by him, and so pass into
‘ laws. All great offices of state are likewise conferred by the king, upon the same recommendations or petitions of his several councils; so
‘ that none are preferred by the humour of the
‘ prince himself, nor by favour of any minister,
‘ by flattery or corruption, but by the force or
‘ appearance of merit, of learning, and of virtue;
‘ which observed by the several councils, gain
‘ their recommendations or petitions to the king.’
These are the express words of that minister. And if under the greatest absolute monarchy of the world, in a country where the prince actually

resides; if among heathens this be accounted a necessary part of government for the encouragement of virtue, shall it be denied to Christians living under a prince who resides in another nation? Shall it be denied to a people, who have a right to liberty, and yet are not capable of any in their present circumstances without this limitation? But we have formed to ourselves such extravagant notions of government, that even in a limited monarchy nothing will please, which in the least deviates from the model of France, and every thing else must stand branded with the name of commonwealth. Yet a great and wise people found this very condition of government necessary to support even an absolute monarchy. If any man say, that the empire of China contains divers kingdoms: and that the care of the emperor, and his knowlege of particular men, cannot extend to all: I answer, the case is the same with us; and it seems as if that wise people designed this constitution for a remedy to the like inconveniences with those we labour under at this time.

THIS limitation will undoubtedly enrich the nation, by stopping that perpetual issue of money to England, which has reduced this country to extreme poverty. This limitation does not flatter us with the hopes of riches by an uncertain project; does not require so much as the condition of our own industry; but by saving great sums to the country, will every year furnish a stock sufficient to carry on a considerable trade, or to
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establish some useful manufacture at home, with the highest probability of success: because our ministers, by this rule of government, would be freed from the influence of English councils; and our trade be intirely in our own hands, and not under the power of the court, as it was in the affair of Darien. If we do not obtain this limitation, our attendance at London will continue to drain this nation of all those sums, which should be a stock for trade. Besides, by frequenting that court, we not only spend our money, but learn the expensive modes, and ways of living, of a rich and luxurious nation: we lay out yearly great sums in furniture and equipage, to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade and manufactures of our own country. Not that I think it amiss to travel into England, in order to see and learn their industry in trade and husbandry. But at court what can we learn, except a horrid corruption of manners, and an expensive way of living, that we may for ever after be both poor and profligate?

THIS limitation will secure to us our freedom and independence. It has been often said in this house, that our princes are captives in England; and indeed one would not wonder if, when our interest happens to be different from that of England, our kings, who must be supported by the riches and power of that nation in all their undertakings, should prefer an English interest before that of this country. It is yet less strange, that English ministers should advise and procure the

advancement of such persons to the ministry of Scotland, as will comply with their measures and the king's orders; and to surmount the difficulties they may meet with from a true Scots interest, that places and pensions should be bestowed upon parliament-men and others: I say, these things are so far from wonder, that they are inevitable in the present state of our affairs. But I hope they likewise shew us, that we ought not to continue any longer in this condition. Now, this limitation is advantageous to all. The prince will no more be put upon the hardship of deciding between an English and a Scots interest; or the difficulty of reconciling what he owes to each nation, in consequence of his coronation oath. Even English ministers will no longer lie under the temptation of meddling in Scots affairs: nor the ministers of this kingdom, together with all those who have places and pensions, be any more subject to the worst of all slavery. But if the influences I mentioned before shall still continue, what will any other limitation avail us? What shall we be the better for our act concerning the power of war and peace? since by the force of an English interest and influence, we cannot fail of being engaged in every war, and neglected in every peace.

By this limitation, our parliament will become the most uncorrupted senate of all Europe. No man will be tempted to vote against the interest of his country, when his country shall have all the
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bribes in her own hands; offices, places, pensions. It will be no longer necessary to lose one half of the public customs, that parliament-men may be made collectors. We will not desire to exclude the officers of state from sitting in this house, when the country shall have the nomination of them; and our parliaments, free from corruption, cannot fail to redress all our grievances. We shall then have no cause to fear a refusal of the royal assent to our acts; for we shall have no evil counsellor, nor enemy of his country, to advise it. When this condition of government shall take place, the royal assent will be the ornament of the prince, and never be refused to the desires of the people. A general unanimity will be found in this house; in every part of the government, and among all ranks and conditions of men. The distinctions of court and country-party shall no more be heard in this nation; nor shall the prince and people any longer have a different interest. Rewards and punishments will be in the hands of those who live among us, and consequently best know the merit of men; by which means, virtue will be recompensed and vice discouraged, and the reign and government of the prince will flourish in peace and justice.

I SHOULD never make an end, if I would prosecute all the great advantages of this limitation; which, like a divine influence, turns all to good, as the want of it has hitherto poisoned every thing, and brought all to ruin. I shall therefore

only add one particular more, in which it will be of the highest advantage to this nation. We all know, that the only way of enslaving a people is by keeping up a standing army; that by standing forces all limited monarchies have been destroyed, without them none; that so long as any standing forces are allowed in a nation, pretexts will never be wanting to increase them; that princes have never suffered militias to be put upon any good foot, lest standing forces should appear unnecessary. We also know that a good and well-regulated militia is of so great importance to a nation, as to be the principal part of the constitution of any free government. Now, by this limitation, the nation will have a sufficient power to render their militia good and effectual, by the nomination of officers: and if we would send a certain proportion of our militia abroad yearly, and relieve them from time to time, we may make them as good as those of Switzerland are; and much more able to defend the country, than any unactive standing forces can be. We may save every year great sums of money, which are now expended to maintain a standing army; and which is yet more, run no hazard of losing our liberty by them. We may employ a greater number of officers in those detachments, than we do at present in all our forces both at home and abroad; and make better conditions for them in those countries that need their assistance. For being freed from the influences of English councils,

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we shall certainly look better than we have hitherto done to the terms on which we may send them into the armies either of England or Holland; and not permit them to be abused so many different ways, as, to the great reproach of the nation, they have been, in their rank, pay, clothing, arrears, levy-money, quarters, transport-ships, and gratuities.

HAVING thus shewn some of the great advantages this limitation will bring to the nation (to which every one of you will be able to add many more) that it is not only consistent with monarchy, but even with an absolute monarchy; having demonstrated the necessity of such a condition in all empires, which contain several kingdoms; and that without it we must for ever continue in a dependence upon the court of England; in the name of God, what hinders us from embracing so great a blessing? Is it because her majesty will refuse the royal assent to this act? If she do, sure I am, such a refusal must proceed from the advice of English counsellors; and will not that be a demonstration to us, that after her majesty, and heirs of her body, we must not, cannot any longer continue under the same prince with England? Shall we be wanting to ourselves? Can her majesty give her assent to this limitation upon a successor before you offer it to her? Is she at liberty to give us satisfaction in this point, till we have declared to England, by a vote of this house, that unless we obtain this condition, we

will not name the same successor with them? And then will not her majesty, even by English advice, be persuaded to give her assent; unless her counsellors shall think fit to incur the heavy imputation, and run the dangerous risk, of dividing these nations for ever? If therefore either reason, honour, or conscience, have any influence upon us; if we have any regard either to ourselves or posterity; if there be any such thing as virtue, happiness, or reputation in this world, or felicity in a future state, let me adjure you by all these, not to draw upon your heads everlasting infamy, attended with the eternal reproaches and anguish of an evil conscience, by making yourselves and your posterity miserable.

XV.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

THIS is an act for repealing a law made in the year 1700, which prohibits the importation of French wines. We were then in peace with France, and are now in a declared war against them. The prohibition was made in time of peace, because the French laid greater impositions upon our trade than they did upon other nations: and yet it is desired, that French wines may be imported in time of war; though not only the same, but new burdens are laid upon our
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merchandise in France. It is pretended, that we shall not trade to France directly, but may buy French wines from certain nations, who trade to that country with our goods. I will allow all this, though it be false; but where is the necessity we should take French wines from those nations for our commodities? Have they not copper, iron, pitch, tar, hemp, flax, and timber for building of ships and other uses, which we need? or if our consumption of these things will not answer the value of those goods they take of us, may we not export the overplus to other parts? Since therefore the same, or greater impositions continue still upon our merchandise in France, so as we cannot get of those neutral nations so high a price for our goods, as if the impositions in France were taken off, the reason of the law made in 1700 still remains. And if we had sufficient cause to prohibit the importation of French wines by our own ships in time of peace, shall we purchase French wines from other nations in time of war? The French would not receive our goods in time of peace, upon equal terms with those of other nations, which obliged us to forbid their wines: shall we now take them at a double value in time of war? or, are we become greater friends to France now in a time of open war, than we were before in time of peace? Something might be said, if no wines were to be found in Portugal or Italy. But it seems no wine will please us, but that of a country, against which we are in actual war,

war, and which uses us ill both in peace and war. One would have thought, that the past services of a nation, which has more than once saved that base people from ruin, might have obliged them to a more favourable usage of us. But the world will say, we are yet a baser people than they, if, whilst they continue to suppress our trade, we repeal a law, for which we have now more and better reasons than when we made it. To repeal such a law in time of war, will sound admirably well in England and Holland: since it is no less than a direct breach of our alliance with those nations; a formal renunciation of any advantages we may pretend in a treaty of peace, and exactly calculated to inform the world of the inclinations of our ministers. If we would trade to Portugal and Italy, we should have the benefit of English and Dutch convoys. We might trade in our own ships, not in Swedes, Danes, and Hamburgers, to the ruin of our navigation. For, if they drive our trade for us, we may indeed burn our ships and plow our towns, as has been told us. And therefore I move that this act, as prejudicial to our trade and navigation, and highly injurious to the honour of the nation, may be thrown out.

XVI.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

ONE would think, that of all men, lawgivers should be of the most undoubted probity, and that selfish ends and disingenuity should have no place in their assemblies. For if those, who give laws to other men, have not the good of the nation they govern in view, but are ready to sacrifice every thing to their own private interest, such a scandalous conduct must be of the last consequence to a government, by alienating the affections of the people from those who shall be guilty of such practices. My lord, no man in this house can be ignorant, that this act will not only open a trade and correspondence with France, contrary to the declaration of war, and our own standing laws; but that the design of those who promote the passing of this act is to have a trade directly with France. It is known that Scots ships are already loading wines in Bourdeaux for this kingdom; and that a French factor is already arrived in this city. Besides, it is notorious, that a ship belonging to this port, and freighted with wines from France, is now lying in Queensferry-road, not eight miles from this place. She pretends indeed to be a Dane, because she came last from Norway; whither she was sent for no other reason

reason than that she came too soon upon this coast. This ship has an officer and divers seamen on board, sent from one of our frigates for her guard, who have absolutely refused to permit the persons that were impowered by the admiralty to examine her, unless they should produce an order from the captain of the frigate, or from your lordship. And as if our act for the prohibition of French wines were already repealed, and our collectors, no less than our former kings, might dispense with the laws; another ship laden with the wines of that country has been brought into the Clyde, and her lading into the city of Glasgow, during this session, in contempt of the law and the authority of the parliament. All this, and much more of the same kind, is well known to those who are in the administration, and seem not to think it their business to take notice of such practices. But I hope this house will not overlook these gross mismanagements; and since the executive part of the government is arrived to that state, that hardly any law is put in execution, the parliament, according to the many precedents we have in our acts, will give order for a better administration in time to come, and take effectual care that those, who are placed in the highest trusts, shall see the laws duly executed; especially your lordship, who, during the intervals of parliament, as the principal person in the government, ought to be answerable to the nation for their due execution. Now, the great argument
which

which is used for allowing the importation of French wines is, that we shall certainly have the wines of that country, though very bad and very dear, if the prohibition be continued. Which is only to say, we have no government among us. Two good laws were made in the year 1700. One against the exportation of our wool, the other against the importation of French wines; the first to give a being to a woollen manufacture in this kingdom, the latter to vindicate our trade against the impositions of France. We have already rendered the one ineffectual, to the ruin of our woollen manufacture; shall we now repeal the other? shall we send them our wool, and buy their wines, and oblige them doubly for burdening and oppressing us in our trade? It is pretended, that the customs arising from the importation of French wines must serve to pay the civil list, because the former duties are fallen one half of the usual value. A very cogent argument indeed! when we know that the customs have been taken from the farmers, only in order to bestow the collectors places upon parliament-men. Shall we make good such funds as are exhausted by bribing men to betray our liberty? If any justice were to be found in this nation, the advisers of these things had long since been brought to a scaffold. But as there is no crime under heaven more enormous, more treacherous, and more destructive to the very nature of our government, than that of bribing parliaments; so there is nothing more
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common and barefaced: and I think this session should have been opened by purging the house from such corrupted members; which if we had done, we had not met with so many difficulties and obstructions of the public service. But I hope we shall not be so remiss for the future. And for the present, my lord chancellor, I move, that this act for taking off the prohibition of French wines, as a design of the blackest nature, hurtful and ignominious to the nation, and highly reflecting on our ministers and administration, may be thrown out.

XVII.

MY LORD CHANCELLOR,

YESTERDAY a cause was brought into this house by a protestation for remeid of law: upon which a debate arose, whether a lord of session, who is also a member of this house for some shire or borrough, could sit again as a judge of the same cause. I was then of opinion he might; because the house had declared they would not confine themselves to decide this matter by what had been already alleged and proved before the lords of session; but would receive new proof and matter, if any had been discovered since the passing of the decrete. And indeed in that case I was of opinion, those lords of session might and ought

ought to judge again, because new proof and new matter might induce them to alter their former judgement. But since no new matter or proof appears, and that the vote is stated, ' Adhere to the ' decree of the lords of session, or sustain the ' protestation;' which is only and simply to determine the cause by what was alleged and proved before that bench; I cannot consent that any of those lords, though members of this house, should again be judges of the same cause. Nor indeed, till the house had over-ruled my opinion, could I think that we ought to decide any cause brought before us by protestation for remeid of law, otherwise than by the proofs and matters alleged and proved before the lords of session. Certainly it was never designed, by allowing these protestations, to bring all civil causes before our parliaments. For if we should judge of matters originally in this house, or go about to redress and relieve men against their adversaries upon new proof after the decree of the ordinary judges, all the civil causes of the nation might, under one pretext or another, be brought before us. In these cases we are only to relieve the people by reversing the unjust sentences of the lords of session. And the privilege of the people to protest for remeid of law, was principally designed to be a check upon the ordinary judges, and oblige them to do justice: which if they should not do, and were convicted of bribery or other gross injustice, the parliament might remove them from their offices, or otherwise

wife punish them in life or estate. So that these lords of session, who have formerly determined this cause, cannot, I think, reasonably pretend to judge the same again, though they are members of the house; because no man can be judge of any thing by which he may receive damage or profit. If the decree now under consideration shall be found grossly unjust, I hope no man will say the judges may not be punished. And the judgement to be given by the parliament is to be confined to this; whether the lords of session have pronounced a just or unjust sentence. In the giving of which judgement, no lord of session can be present as judge; unless we will say that an unjust judge may be absolved by his own vote. But to all this a very easy remedy is to be found; I mean, that no lord of session should be a member of parliament, which would be highly advantageous to the nation on many accounts, and principally that our parliaments might no longer interrupt or disturb the common course of justice.

TH E S E speeches are published to prevent mistakes in the affairs to which they relate.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F A
C O N V E R S A T I O N
C O N C E R N I N G A
R I G H T R E G U L A T I O N
O F
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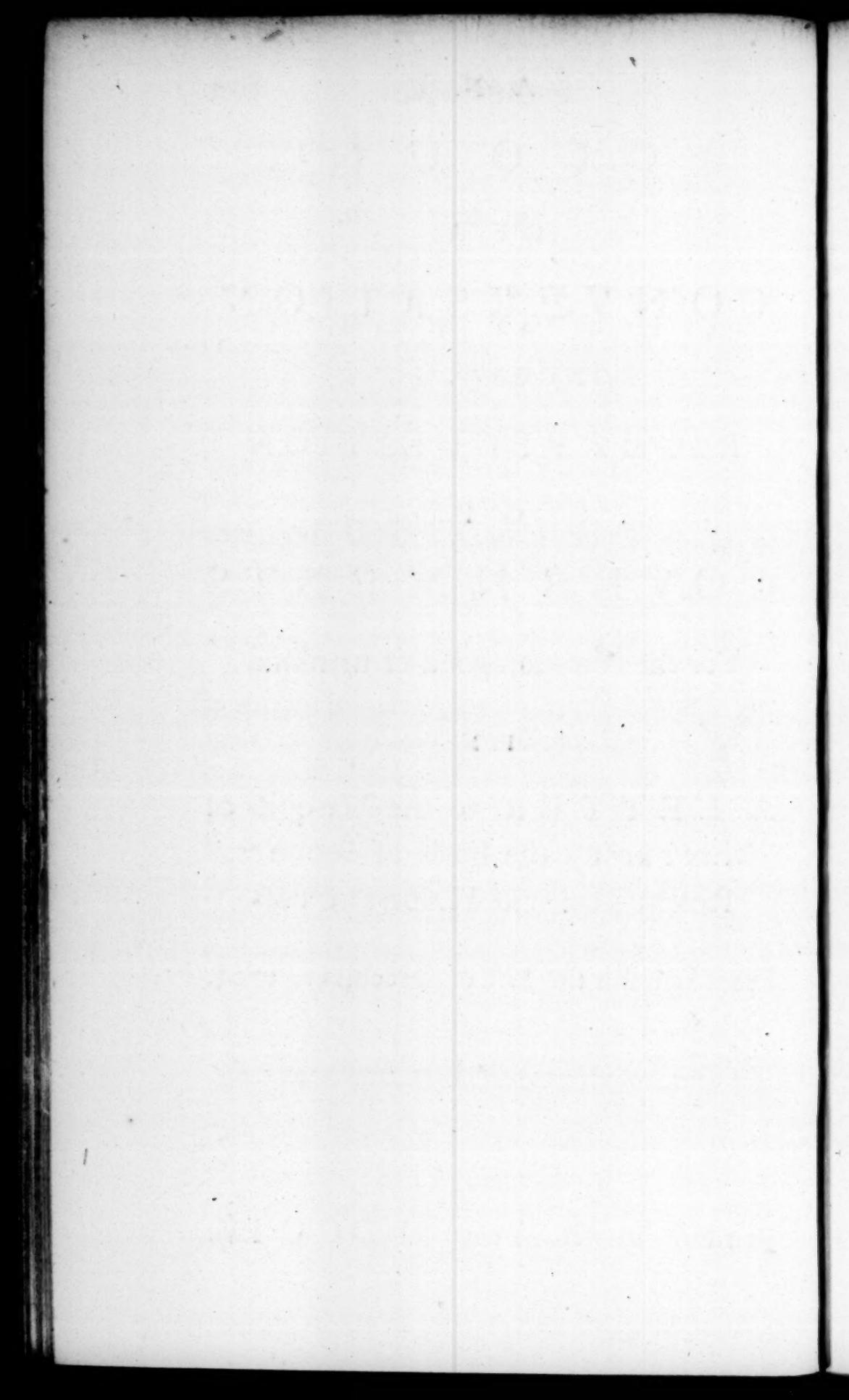
For the common good of mankind.

I N
A L E T T E R to the Marquis of
M O N T R O S E, the Earls of R O T H E S,
R O X B U R G H, and H A D D I N G T O N.

From London the first of December, 1703.

Edinburgh;

Printed in the Year M D C C I V.



A N

A C C O U N T

O F A

C O N V E R S A T I O N, etc.

MY LORDS,

YOU desire to know the sentiments of some considerable persons of the English nation, touching our affairs, and the common interest of both kingdoms. And I think I cannot give you more satisfaction in these particulars, than by an account of a conversation I lately had with the Earl of Cromarty, Sir Edward Seymour, and Sir Christopher Musgrave; in which, if the defence I made for you do not give you satisfaction, I shall be glad to hear a better from yourselves. If you ask how I had the fortune to meet with men of sentiments so different from my own, that was partly owing to chance, and partly to the frank and courteous way which is so natural to the Earl of Cromarty. For some days ago,

ago, walking slowly and alone in the Mell, the Earl and Sir Christopher overtook me: and though during the whole time I was last in Scotland, I had not waited on the Earl, he, with a very obliging air, said to me, that if I expected not other company, they would be glad of mine; asking me, withal, if I was acquainted with Sir Christopher. I said I had formerly the honour of some small acquaintance with him, which I should be very willing to renew. And after some compliments passed on all sides, finding I was not engaged, he invited me to dine with him, telling me he would give me the opportunity of doing as I desired; and therefore we should pass the time together till the hour of dinner. So we presently went to his lodgings in Whitehall, and entering into a room from whence we had a full view of the Thames and city of London, You have here, gentlemen, said the Earl, two of the noblest objects that can entertain the eye, the finest river, and the greatest city in the world. Where natural things are in the greatest perfection, they never fail to produce most wonderful effects. This most gentle and navigable river, with the excellent genius and industrious inclination of the English people, have raised this glorious city to such a height, that if all things be rightly considered, we shall find it very far to surpass any other. Besides the beauty and conveniences of the river, the situation of this city is such, that I am persuaded, if the wisest men of the nation had been
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many years employed to chuse the most advantageous, they could not have found a better: and as the prosperity of a country depends, in a great measure, upon the situation of the capital city, the good fortune of this nation, in that particular, has chiefly contributed to the great riches and power they now have. My lord, said Sir Christopher, you are so fully in the right, that notwithstanding the extent, and particularly the great length, of the buildings; yet should they be removed but one half-mile either east or west, such an alteration would be disadvantageous. For to the eastward some rows of buildings do, in a streight line, cross the fields, and meet the river again at Blackwall; and to the westward the buildings run along a rising ground, which overlooks Hide-park, and the adjacent fields. The whole town lies upon a shelving situation, descending easily, and, as it were, in the form of a theatre towards the south and river, covered from the north, north-east and north-west, winds: so that in very cold and stormy weather, by means of the buildings of the city and on the bridge, it is both warm and calm upon the river; which being, as it were, the string to the bow, affords the great conveniency of a cheap and speedy conveyance from one part to the other. The shelving situation of the city is not only most fitted to receive the kind influences of the sun, but to carry off, by common-shores and other ways, the snow and dirt of the streets into the river, which is cleansed by the tides twice every

every day. But above all, the ground on which the city stands being a gravel, renders the inhabitants healthful, and the adjacent country wholesome and beautiful. The county of Kent furnishes us with the choicest fruit; Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire with corn; Lincolnshire, Essex, and Surrey, with beef, veal, and mutton; Buckinghamshire with wood for fuel, and the river with all that the seas and the rest of the world affords. And this in so great plenty, that, in times of peace, the common fuel, though brought two hundred miles by sea, is yet sold at a reasonable rate; and in so great variety, that we may find more sorts of wine in London, than in the countries which produce the richest and the most. In a word, all the useful and superfluous things that nature produces, or the wit of man has invented, are to be found here, either made by our artificers, or imported by our merchants. That which is to be admired, said I, is the perfect peace and tranquillity in which the inhabitants live; proceeding either from their natural temper, or the good order and plenty of the place, and the security they enjoy from the attempts of any enemy, by being situated in an island. So that this great city, without walls or guards, is as accessible at all hours of the night as the most inconsiderable village. But that which charms me most is the liberty and rights they are possessed of in matters civil and religious. To these advantages I might add many things which render this city great, con-
veni-

venient, and agreeable; such are, the important transactions of a parliament; the judgements in Westminster-hall; the business of the exchange, navigation and commerce; the affairs and diversions of the court, together with the recreations and pleasures of the town. These last words have spoiled all, said Sir Christopher, and unluckily revived in me the image of that corruption of manners which reigns in this place, has infected the whole nation, and must at length bring both the city and nation to ruin. And if one may judge by the greatness of the corruption, this fatal period is not far off. For no regulations of government are sufficient to restrain or correct the manners of so great a number of people living in one place, and exposed to so many temptations from the bad example they give to one another. And the frequency of ill example, which can never fail to be where so great numbers live together, authorizes the corruption, and will always be too strong and powerful for any magistracy to controul. For though every man may have his own scheme to reform and regulate these disorders, yet experience has taught us, that no human prudence can preserve the manners of men living in great cities from extraordinary corruption; and that where great power, riches, and numbers of men, are brought together, they not only introduce an universal depravation of manners, but destroy all good government, and bring ruin and desolation upon a people. What great corruptions do you

find in this place, so obstinate and incorrigible, said the Earl? No laws or regulations, replied Sir Christopher, are sufficient to restrain the luxury of women, to banish so many thousands of common prostitutes, or to prevent a far greater number of that sex from being debauched by the innumerable occasions and opportunities which so vast a city affords, where, by means of a masque, a hackney-coach, a tavern, and a play-house, they are at liberty to do what they please. Even the poorer sort of both sexes are daily tempted to all manner of lewdness by infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets. One would think, said the Earl, this last were of no great consequence. I said, I knew a very wise man so much of Sir Christopher's sentiment, that he believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation. And we find, that most of the antient legislators thought they could not well reform the manners of any city without the help of a lyric, and sometimes of a dramatic, poet. But in this city the dramatic poet no less than the ballad-maker has been almost wholly employed to corrupt the people, in which they have had most unspeakable and deplorable success. Then Sir Christopher, continuing his discourse, said, in this city gamesters, stockjobbers, jockies, and wagerers, make now the most considerable figure, and in few years have attained to such a degree of perfection in their several ways, that, in comparison to many

ny of the nobility, gentry, and merchants of England, those in Newgate are mere ignorants, and wretches of no experience. In the summer they infest all the places of diversion throughout England, and may be justly called the missionaries of this city. Sure, said the Earl, remedies may be found for many of these abuses. The too expensive apparel of women might be restrained, masques might be prohibited; vintners forbidden to receive women in their houses, and all stock-jobbing, gaming, and wagering, suppressed. But who, said Sir Christopher, is to do this? for though these things might be easily done in a small city, yet in this place I am confident that the authority of the queen and parliament would not be found sufficient for such a performance. I am fully persuaded of her majesty's sincere intentions to discourage vice; yet some wise counsellor will not fail to tell her, that it would be of dangerous consequence to forbid gaming, which consumes so much of the time, and takes up the thoughts of a great number of men, who, if they had not that diversion, might probably employ their leisure in thinking too much upon affairs of state. Might not we, said the Earl, play, like the Turks, only to pass the time? No, replied Sir Christopher, you have to do with Christians, who have a Christian liberty to play for money, provided they do not abuse it; though all men know, that if the thing be allowed, the abuse is inevitable. And yet this is not the worst; for the infection of bad

manners has so thoroughly corrupted this place, that many even of those who ought, by wholesome laws, to reform others, are themselves infected by the contagion ; so that when the country has sent persons to represent them in parliament, they, in a short time, seem rather to be the only representatives of this corrupt city, and artfully betray the nation, under the fairest pretences to good principles, contrary to their known duty, and the important trust reposed in them. I said, Sir Christopher's observations were very impartial, and that I wished all those, who were guilty of such practices, would impartially apply so just a censure to themselves. Sir Christopher, continuing, said, all abuses, when introduced among great multitudes, become not only more enormous, but more incorrigible. The justices of London and Westminster will inform you of a thousand evils and incorrigible practices, which wholly proceed from the great number of the inhabitants, and vast extent of our buildings, where all manner of crimes are easily concealed. Besides, the poor and indigent are so numerous in this place, that the ill practices, to which men are tempted by poverty, are but too frequent: and the luxury of all other ranks and orders of men makes every one hasten to grow rich; and consequently leads them to betray all kind of trust reposed in them. In a word, this city abounds with all manner of temptations to evil; extreme poverty, excessive riches, great pleasures, infinite
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bad examples, especially of unpunished and successful crimes. Here Sir Christopher was interrupted by a servant, who acquainted us that Sir Edward Seymour was coming up stairs. He is welcome, said the Earl; and the more because he comes so early, for I expected him not till the hour of dinner. Upon this Sir Edward Seymour entered the room, and after he had saluted the Earl and Sir Christopher, the Earl presented me, as his countryman and old acquaintance to Sir Edward; and when we had placed ourselves in the chairs that were brought for us, said, with a smile, that I was one of those who, in the late session of the Scots parliament, had opposed the interest of the court. My lord, said I, does that character recommend me to Sir Edward Seymour? Sir, says Sir Edward, it is to me a great recommendation of my lord's good nature, to allow you to wait upon him: but it seems you are one who signalized yourself in the late session of your parliament, by framing Utopias and new models of government, under the name of limitations; in which you had the honour to be seconded and assisted by several men of quality, of about two or three and twenty years of age, whose long experience, and consummate prudence in public affairs, could not but produce wonderful schemes of government! This rough and sudden attack made me take the freedom to ask him, if he thought that men wanted any more than the knowledge and the will to govern themselves rightly. To which,

continuing in his former strain, he answered, that young men were always ignorant, confident, and of insupportable arrogance. Yet, said I, do you not think that young men in parliament are much more capable to resist corruption, and oppose ill men, than they would be in a court, where, by temptations arising from vanity and pleasure, they are in hazard of being corrupted themselves? Whereas in parliament meeting with no temptation but bribery, which that age abhors, or the ambition of getting a place by arts they are unacquainted with, the concern and assiduity of youth in their first applications, is of great moment and highly useful, especially in men of quality, whose example and early virtue is of the greatest influence. And if, with these qualifications, they have also the talent of speaking well, it is not to be imagined how much their pleading for justice, with that sincerity and unaffected eloquence so natural to youth, does inflame the minds of men to all kind of virtue. You begin to declaim, as if they overheard you, said the old gentleman; but you must not think such stuff will have any influence upon me, or that I am so credulous to believe that boys of those years can have any right notion of government: an art which demands the longest experience and greatest practice. This kind of dialect I knew to be the usual way of Sir Edward Seymour, and therefore, without the least shew of resentment, contented myself to say, that I was indeed of opinion, that to
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oppose the ill designs of inveterate knaves, is a work of great difficulty for young men to undertake; and that the common method of all governments now received in the world, to allow almost every thing that tends to the corruption of manners, and then to restrain those corruptions, does not only require the longest experience and greatest prudence, but is far beyond the power of both. Yet to say that young men cannot understand the nature of government, and such regulations as are most conducing to the happiness of mankind, when, at the same time, they are thought capable of mathematics, natural philosophy, the art of reasoning, and metaphysical speculations, which contain things more difficult to conceive, than any in the art of government, seems absurd. But by the present manner of education, the minds of young men are, for many years, debauched from all that duty and business to which they are born; and in the place of moral and civil knowledge and virtue, addict themselves to mathematical, natural, and metaphysical speculations, from which many are never able to withdraw their thoughts. For the interest of some governments requiring that men should know little of public affairs, the art of government has been looked upon as a kind of knowledge dangerous to be learned, except by those who are advanced in years; and this only so far as the experience and practice of those corrupt constitutions and ways of living now in use among men

will allow. Whereas young men have great advantages to find out what is right or amiss in government, by having never been engaged in the ill administration of affairs, nor habituated to bad customs and indirect practices, nor biassed by selfish ends, to entertain any other opinion of constitutions, laws, and regulations, than what is just and right. And as their capacity for more abstracted sciences shews them sufficiently capable of understanding the art of government; and the innocence of their manners demonstrates that they are less biassed in judgement than other men; so in zeal and forwardness to put things in execution they are undoubtedly superior to all that are more advanced in years. The only difficulty in the education of youth, is to fix their application on things useful. And do you not think the young men you mentioned very happy, who, instead of studying physics and metaphysics, have employed their thoughts in an active way to advance the interest and service of their country? Their relations have taken care to marry most of them young, in order to prevent innumerable inconveniences; and if they enter into a good œconomy of their private fortunes, they may certainly acquire greater riches than they can hope to have a venture for at court. And if they despise the ridiculous vanity of great titles, which is the peculiar folly of this age, of what use and ornament may they not be to their friends and country, the care of which has possessed them so early? It is
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the experience of such men that will hereafter deserve to be valued, and not of those who, from their youth, have given themselves up to dissimulation and bad arts for worse ends, and are only skilled in the pernicious practices that tend to destroy the public liberty. Still declaiming! said he, and the result of all is, that there are not two more proper qualities for government, than want of experience, joined to the violent disposition of youth. But, said I, when these are corrected by the advice, and controuled by the votes of men of riper years, do you think them still dangerous?

I DO.

WOULD they not be more dangerous, if the old men had only the power of advising, and that, for example, in the senate of a commonwealth all things were to be determined by the votes of the young men?

CERTAINLY.

WOULD there not be yet greater danger, if the young men had the disposal of all places and advantages, and that the old men, in order to obtain them, should be obliged to flatter, and give such advice as they knew would please, and at the same time be pernicious to the state?

WHO can doubt it?

Now if the young men, by reason of frequent disputes, heats, and factions among themselves, should chuse one of their own number, and invest him with an unlimited power, though he were

younger by many years than the gentlemen in question: I say, if any people should be so govern- ed, would you not look upon it as a mad kind of government?

MOST surely.

AND yet many nations think they can be no way secure under any other sort of government than that which often falls into this very inconve- niency. You mean, said he, a young prince in an absolute monarchy. Pray, said I, what think you of a young prince in a limited monarchy, not accountable to any? Do you doubt of instru- ments to execute his will, and of the confusion things may be brought to before redress can be obtained? Do you not think such a one equally dangerous to the state as the young men we have mentioned? Ay! but, said the knight, they bring faction into the state. I confess, said I, the young prince does not, because he is uncontroul- ed; so far you are right. But pray, Sir, what is it in those young noblemen, or in the proceed- ings of our parliament in general, that you think deserves so much blame? That they would talk, said he, of such limitations on a successor as tend to take away that dependence which your nation ought to have always upon us, as a much greater and more powerful people. I said we are an in- dependent nation, though very much declined in power and reputation since the union of the crowns, by neglecting to make such conditions with our kings, as were necessary to preserve
both:

both: that finding, by experience, the prejudice of this omission, we cannot be justly blamed for endeavouring to lay hold on the opportunity put into our hands, of enacting such conditions and limitations on a successor, upon the expiration of the present intail, as may secure the honour and sovereignty of our crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and power of our parliaments, together with our religion, liberty, and trade, from either English or foreign influence. Sir Edward all in a fret; hay day, said he, here is a fine cant indeed, independent nation! honour of our crown! and what not? Do you consider what proportion you bear to England? not one to forty in rents of land. Besides, our greatest riches arise from trade and manufactures, which you want. This was allowed by me: but I desired to inform him, that the trade of Scotland was considerable before the union of the crowns: that as the increase of the English trade had raised the value of their lands, so the loss of our trade had sunk the rents in Scotland, impoverished the tenant, and disabled him, in most places, from paying his landlord any other ways than in corn; which practice has been attended with innumerable inconveniencies and great loss: that our trade was formerly in so flourishing a condition, that the shire of Fife alone had as many ships as now belong to the whole kingdom: that ten or twelve towns, which lie on the south coast of that province, had, at that time, a very considerable

able trade, and in our days are little better than so many heaps of ruins: that our trade with France was very advantageous, by reason of the great privileges we enjoyed in that kingdom: that our commerce with Spain had been very considerable, and began during the wars between England and that nation; and that we drove a great trade in the Baltic with our fish, before the Dutch had wholly possessed themselves of that advantageous traffic. Upon the union of the crowns not only all this went to decay, but our money was spent in Eng'and, and not among ourselves; the furniture of our houses, and the best of our clothes and equipage, was bought at London: and though particular persons of the Scots nation had many great and profitable places at court, to the high displeasure of the English, yet that was no advantage to our country, which was totally neglected, like a farm managed by servants, and not under the eye of the master. The great business both of Scots and English ministers was, to extend the prerogative in Scotland, to the ruin of liberty, property, and trade: and the disorders, which were afterwards occasioned by the civil war, gave the last and finishing blow to the riches and power of the nation. Since that time we have had neither spirit, nor liberty, nor trade, nor money among us. And though, during the time of the usurper Cromwell, we imagined ourselves to be in a tolerable condition with respect to this last particular, by reason of that expence
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which was made in the nation by those forces that kept us in subjection; yet this was a deceitful substance, not unlike a plumpness in the natural body proceeding from a disease. The business of a Scots minister is to get as much money as he can from our impoverished country, whilst he is in employment, well knowing that all regulations that may be established in order to enrich the nation, either by trade, manufactures, or husbandry, will require time before they can produce any considerable effect, and on that account will be of little advantage to him during his administration. I take all this freedom, said I, before the Earl of Cromarty, though he be a Scots minister of state, because it is well known, avarice is none of his faults, and that no person in our government is more ready to promote any new and solid project of improvement. I am obliged for the good character you give me, said the Earl; but very sorry I can promote none of your projects: they are, I fear, too great for our nation, and seem rather contrived to take place in a Platonic commonwealth, than in the present corruption of things. My lord, said I, no man is more sensible how little is to be done in this age: but I think it the greatest of all follies to offer an expedient, which obtained will not answer the end, and to labour and toil for that which will not avail: such measures proceed in part from our ignorance of the ill condition we are in, and the means of recovery; but principally from a mean-

meanness of spirit, which hinders us always from applying the true remedies, if they are attended with the least appearance of difficulty or danger. And nothing does so much point out the want of sense and courage in particular men, or the degeneracy of an age and nation, than to content themselves to prosecute any considerable end by ineffectual and disproportionate means. Now, the ill condition of Scotland, proceeding from these causes; that our money is carried away and spent at court, by those who attend there for places and pensions; that by the influence of English ministers upon our government, we are brought wholly to depend on that court; that by reason of the prince's absence, the laws are not put in execution: I say, these being the causes of our present ill condition, what other remedies can be found, than that the parliament of Scotland should, for the time to come, bestow all pensions and offices, both civil and military; that our parliaments should be annual and not interrupted in their sessions, and have power to appoint committees for the administration of the government during the intervals of sitting? If these things are granted, said the Earl, I would know what power or authority is left to the prince. As great power, said I, as princes formerly enjoyed in most of the limited monarchies of Europe; their parliaments or diets were fixed, and at least annual: the chief officers of the crown, and the counsellors of the prince, were named by the
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states of most kingdoms ; but the executive power of the government, and the command of armies, were vested in the prince, together with the prerogative of giving authority to the laws and currency to the coin, and a superiority in dignity and revenue, suitable to so high a station. But, said the Earl, you diminish his power of administration, not only by refusing him the nomination of great officers, but even the inferior : you inroach upon his power as general, by taking from him the nomination of military officers ; and you lessen the grandeur of his court, by refusing him the distribution of pensions. To this charge I made answer, that if princes might not appoint the principal officers of the crown, nor their own counsellors, the nomination of inferior officers seems to be below their care and dignity ; that standing forces being pernicious to all governments, and national militias only safe and useful, it is but reasonable the people should have the choice of those who are to command them ; that his lordship could not forget, that the limitations in question were demanded for a kingdom, where the prince does not actually reside, as a remedy against the influence of a powerful court, on which otherwise we should be necessitated always to depend. And I think for a nation in these circumstances to have the power of conferring pensions, can no way lessen the grandeur of a court, where no court is. The Earl said, that no considerations whatever ought, in such a degree, to diminish
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the prince's power, which is the very effence of monarchical government; that no case could exist by which the essential part of any government could be so far lessened; and therefore such circumstances of affairs, as I brought for reasons, being only accidents, could not be made use of to destroy the substance of a government. I told him that I had always thought that princes were made for the good government of nations, and not the government of nations framed for the private advantage of princes. Right, said he, but then you must accommodate all monarchical government to the nature of princes, else you will make a heterogeneous body of the prince and state. I understand you not, said I, unless you mean, that all limitations are contrary to the nature of princes, and that they will endure them no longer than necessity forces. And what hopes, said Sir Edward Seymour, can you have of enjoying them long, when your prince may be assisted by the power and riches of a far greater nation, which is highly concerned to take them away? I cannot think, replied I, that the people of England are obliged by their interest to oppose these limitations in Scotland, unless they think themselves concerned in interest to make us at all times their secret enemies, and ready to embrace every opportunity of declaring ourselves openly for such. For since we are not only become sensible of our present ill condition, but fully understand both the causes and the remedy; to oppose us in the
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prosecution of those means which are absolutely necessary to attain so just an end, would be no less than to declare open enmity against us. We shall run a great risk indeed, said Sir Edward, in so doing! Sir, said I, no man is more fully persuaded than I am, of the great disproportion there is between the power of the one and the other nation, especially in the present way of making war. But you should consider, that by declaring yourselves in such a manner to be our enemies, you would drive us to the necessity of taking any power that will assist us, by the hand. And you can no way avoid so great danger, but by doing justice to yourselves and us, in not opposing any conditions we may make with the successor to our crown. The Earl of Cromarty said, that in his opinion there was an easy remedy to all these inconveniencies; which was an union of the two nations. I answered, I was sorry to differ so much from his lordship, as to think the union neither a thing easy to be effected, nor any project of that kind hitherto proposed, to be a remedy to our present bad condition: that the English nation had never, since the union of the two crowns, shewn any great inclination to come to a nearer coalition with Scotland; and that I could not avoid making some remarks upon all the occasions that had given rise to treat of this matter during my time. I have observed, that a treaty of union has never been mentioned by the English, but with a design to amuse us when they ap-
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prehended any danger from our nation. And when their apprehensions were blown over, they have always shewn they had no such intention. In the 1669, endeavours were used in Scotland to establish a good militia; which, on account of a clause procured by the duke of Lauderdale to be inserted in the act, in order to make his court, so alarmed the English nation, that in the following year a treaty of union was proposed. But so soon as they perceived that our militia was ordered in such a manner, as neither to be lasting nor formidable, they presently cooled, and the union vanished. Upon the late revolution, this treaty was again proposed: but when they saw we had chosen the same person for our king, and made the same intail of our crown they had done, the union, as a thing of no farther use to their affairs, was immediately dropped. For the same reasons, I suppose, the late treaty was set on foot; and after they had nominated a successor without asking our opinion or concurrence, they thought this the only way to amuse us, and oblige us to take the same person. Now, as I have shewn how little the English nation has been really inclined to the union; so I must acknowlege, that the Scots, however fond they have formerly been of such a coalition, are now become much less concerned for the success of it, from a just sense they have that it would not only prove no remedy for our present ill condition, but increase the poverty of our country.

How, I pray, said the Earl?

I AM of opinion, said I, that by an incorporating union, as they call it, of the two nations, Scotland will become more poor than ever.

WHY so?

BECAUSE Scotsmen will then spend in England ten times more than now they do; which will soon exhaust the money of the nation. For besides the sums that members of parliament will every winter carry to London, all our countrymen, who have plentiful estates, will constantly reside there, no less than those of Ireland do at this time. No Scotman, who expects any public employment, will ever set his foot in Scotland; and every man, that makes his fortune in England, will purchase lands in that kingdom: our trade, which is the bait that covers the hook, will be only an inconsiderable retail, in a poor, remote, and barren country, where the richest of our nobility and gentry will no longer reside: and though we should allow all the visionary suppositions of those who are so fond of this union; yet our trade cannot possibly increase on a sudden. Whereas the expences I mentioned will, in a very short time, exhaust us, and leave no stock for any kind of commerce. But, said the Earl, you do not distinguish right, nor consider where the fallacy of your reasoning lies. You talk of Scotland and Scots money, and do not reflect, that we shall then be a part of Britain; England will be increased by the accession of Scotland, and both those names lost in that of Britain: so that you
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are to consider the good of that whole body, of which you then become a citizen, and will be much happier than you was, by being in all respects qualified to pretend to any office or employment in Britain, and may trade or purchase in any part of the island. But, by your leave, my lord, let me distinguish plainly, and tell you, that if I make a bargain for the people that inhabit the northern part of this island, I ought principally to consider the interest of those who shall continue to live in that place, that they may find their account in the agreement, and be better provided for than they are. For if the advantages of getting employments, trading and purchasing in any part of the island, are the only things to be considered, all these may be as well obtained by any one who would change his country in the present state of things. And if, in the union of several countries under one government, the prosperity and happiness of the different nations are not considered, as well as of the whole united body, those that are more remote from the seat of the government will be only made subservient to the interest of others, and their condition very miserable. On the other hand, besides our fishery, which God and nature has given us, together with the great privileges already granted to our African company, a distinct sovereignty does always enable a people to retain some riches, and leaves them without excuse if they do not rise to considerable wealth. So that if a sufficient provision

sion be made to prevent the exhausting of our money by the attendance of Scotsmen at court, and to take away the influence of English ministers upon our affairs, no condition of men will be more happy. For we shall then be possessed of liberty; shall administer our own affairs, and be free from the corruptions of a court; we shall have the certain and constant alliance of a powerful nation, of the same language, religion, and government, lying between us and all enemies both by sea and land, and obliged in interest to keep perpetual peace and amity with us. And this you cannot but allow to be a much happier condition, than any we ever could propose to ourselves by all the projects of union that have hitherto been formed. Here the Earl endeavoured, by many arguments, to shew, that our country would be the place, where all manufactures, as well for the use of the whole island, as for exportation, would be made, by reason of the cheapness of living, and the many hands that Scotland could furnish. I said the contrary was not only most evident, but that the union would certainly destroy even those manufactures we now have. For example, the English are able to furnish us, at an easier rate, with better cloth than we make in Scotland: and it is not to be supposed they will destroy their own established manufactures to encourage ours. Corn, and all manner of provisions are cheaper and more plentiful in the six northern counties than in Scotland. The number
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of our people was never so great as commonly imagined, and is now very much diminished by the late famine ; by extraordinary levies of soldiers ; and chiefly by ill government, which having given no encouragement to industry of any kind, has necessitated great numbers of men to abandon the country, and settle themselves in other nations, especially in Ireland. Besides, the natural pride of our commonalty, and their indisposition to labour, are insuperable difficulties, which the English have not to contend with in their people. But sure you will allow, said the Earl, that a free commerce with England, and the liberty of trading to their plantations, which cannot be expected without an union, must be of incomparable advantage to the Scots nation, unless you will disown one of your darling clauses in the act of security. My lord, said I, the clause you mean, is placed there without the condition of an union ; and your lordship cannot forget, was brought in by the court as an equivalent for all limitations, and in order to throw out another clause, which declares that we would not nominate the same successor with England, unless sufficient limitations were first enacted. This was done to mislead the commissioners of borroughs, who, for the most part, are for any thing that bears the name of trade, though but a sham, as this was. And nothing could be more just than to turn it upon the court by adding both clauses ; which sunk your party in the house for a long time after. For my
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own part, I cannot see what advantage a free trade to the English plantations would bring us, except a farther exhausting of our people, and the utter ruin of all our merchants, who should vainly pretend to carry that trade from the English. The Earl, who knew the truth of these things, was unwilling to insist any longer upon this ungrateful subject; and therefore, proceeding to another argument, said, that when we shall be united to England, trade and riches will circulate to the utmost part of the island; and that I could not be ignorant of the wealth, which the remotest corners of the north and west of England possess. I answered, that the riches of those parts proceed from accidental causes. The lead and coal mines, which employ so much shipping, enrich the north. The western parts of England, besides mines of tin and lead, have many excellent harbours lying in the mouth of the channel, through which the greatest trade of the world is continually passing. I desired him to consider, that Wales, the only country that ever had united with England, lying at a less distance from London, and consequently more commodiously to participate in the circulation of a great trade than we do, after three or four hundred years, is still the only place of that kingdom, which has no considerable commerce, though possessed of one of the best ports in the whole island; a sufficient demonstration that trade is not a necessary consequence of an union with England. I added, that trade

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is now become the golden ball, for which all nations of the world are contending, and the occasion of so great partialities, that not only every nation is endeavouring to possess the trade of the whole world, but every city to draw all to itself; and that the English are no less guilty of these partialities than any other trading nation. At these words Sir Christopher was pleased to ask me, what were those partialities in point of trade, of which the English were guilty, and towards what nations: that for his part, he accounted them the frankest dealers, and the justest traders of the world. I said, I would not insist upon the ill usage of the Scots nation in their late attempt to settle in Darien, nor enquire how far the late erected council of trade did in that affair second the partialities of a court engaged in mysterious interests with France; but desired to know his opinion of the usage their own colony in Ireland had received from them, and that he would excuse me, if I should let fall any expression about that matter which might seem hard; because in case he could give me satisfaction in this particular, I should very much incline to an incorporating union of the two nations. He answered, that he was very indifferent what course the Scots should take in the matter of an union, yet would not refuse to argue the point with me; and as to my question concerning Ireland, he said, he was of opinion, that a good measure of strictness and severity is absolutely necessary to keep them from
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the thoughts of setting up for themselves, and pretending to depend no longer upon England. I said, that some late writers had undertaken to prove, by authentic records, that the relation of that country to England was founded rather upon a very strict union than a conquest. But certainly, though the native Irish were conquered, your own colony was not; which yet you favoured no longer than till you saw them begin to flourish and grow rich. And to shew what we are to expect, if ever we begin to thrive, though never so long after our union, I shall give some instances of your conduct towards Ireland in relation to trade. A law was made, that no tobacco should be planted either in England or Ireland; and another, that no person, except of England or Ireland, might trade to the English plantations. Yet in the time of king Charles the second, great hardships and impediments were laid upon all those who should trade from Ireland to the English plantations, though they were still obliged to observe the law against planting tobacco in Ireland. And till the time of the late king no law was made in England for encouraging the woollen manufacture, but the like encouragements were given to the people of Ireland. Yet during that reign, a law was made, which prohibits the exportation of all woollen manufactures from Ireland to foreign parts, and lays so high a duty upon all that shall be imported from thence into England, as amounts to a prohibition. I forbear to mention any other

hardships put upon those in that country, and chiefly the Scots who are settled in the northern parts, though that colony still increases, to our loss and your advantage. You speak of a conquered nation, said Sir Christopher, who have no sovereign rights belonging to them. I speak of a nation, said I, who affirm you have no shadow of right to make laws for them; that the power which the king's council has assumed was gotten by surprize; and that their first submission was founded on a treaty of union, which now, on account of some rebellions suppressed, is called a conquest. But sure, as I said before, you never conquered your own colony, and therefore ought to do them justice. Now, if after an union with us the least commotion should happen in Scotland, suppose on account of church government; might we not expect, that the suppression of this would likewise be called a conquest, and we or our posterity be treated as a conquered people? But can there be a more certain indication of what we may expect in point of trade from an union, than the usage of the post-nati, who settled in England and the plantations, upon the faith of rights declared and ratified by both houses of parliament, confirmed by the decisions of all your courts, and affirmed by the Lord chief justice Coke in the most hyperbolical terms, to be according to common and all law, which yet have been wholly violated and taken away, even to the prejudice of the English nation by the loss of such a number of people?

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These things seem indispensably to require a guarantee, when the two parliaments come to be united, where we may possibly have fifty votes to five hundred, in a house already abounding so much in partialities, that the members, who serve for one part of the kingdom, are frequently found in opposition to the representatives of another, for the sake only of the particular interest of their own countries. *Indéed*, replied Sir Christopher, if your diffidence be so great, there can be no union. Sir, said I, if the matters of fact I mention are true, as I think they are undeniable, I am contented to make you judge of what we may expect from the nature of the thing, and genius of your people. In the first place, what security can a lesser nation, which unites to a greater, have, that all the conditions of union shall be duly observed, unless a third be admitted for guarantee of the agreement? And, I suppose, you would rather chuse to hear no more of an union, than that Holland or France should be the guarantees. True, said he; but guarantees are only proper in treaties of peace between nations not united: unions of nations, especially incorporating unions, of which we are speaking, suppose no breach of conditions; and we do not find that the nations which were so united to the republic of Rome had any guarantees for their security. Sir, said I, the union of those nations, and their admission to the rights and privileges of the city of Rome, could have no guarantees, be-

cause they were noble conditions given by that wise and generous state to nations they had conquered, and had in their power to use as they pleased: and if Ireland be yours by conquest, why do you not use them as well? It will certainly be our interest, said Sir Christopher, to observe the conditions on which we unite with Scotland. Do you think, replied I, that you always follow your interest? I must acknowledge, said he, not always. Then, said I, if at any time you should depart from your true interest in this matter, we shall want a guarantee and find none. On the other hand, if the temper, conduct, and inclinations of your people be considered, it will appear, that except the union with Wales, which is still attended with great imperfections and inconveniences, they have never shewn the least disposition to unite with any other nation, though such as either stood upon equal terms with them, or such as they conquered, or even planted. How your colonies in America are treated, is well known to all men. You never could unite with Normandy, which had conquered you, nor with any part of France that you had conquered. But your oppressions in both were the principal cause of your expulsion from those countries. You could not unite with the states of Holland, when England was likewise a republic. And since the time of the late revolution, which was effected by the assistance of the states, and saved these nations from utter ruin, you can hardly endure the name of a
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Dutchman ; and have treated them on all occasions with such scurrilous expressions, as are peculiar to the generality of your people. And if I should but touch upon the usage we continually meet with from this nation, I should not be believed, if all Europe were not sufficiently informed of their hatred to all strangers, and inveterate malice against the Scots. I know very well, that men of gravity and good breeding among you are not guilty of scurrilous reflections on any nation. But when we are to consider the case in question, we must have a just regard to the temper and general disposition of the people. At these words, Sir Edward, all in a flame, cries out, what a pother is here about an union with Scotland, of which all the advantage we shall have, will be no more than what a man gets by marrying a beggar, a louse for her portion ? Upon this I turned to the Earl and Sir Christopher, and said, that if Sir Edward had spoken these words in the house of commons, I might not take notice of them, nor question his freedom of speech in that place ; but since he is pleased to express himself after this manner in a private conversation, I shall likewise take the liberty to say, that I wonder he is not afraid such language should make us suspect him not to be descended of the noble family whose name he bears. Sir Edward, going on with great passion ; what account, said he, should we make of Scotland, so often trampled under foot by our armies ? Did not protector Seymour, at the bat-

tle of Musselburgh, give you such a rout as destroyed the best part of your nobility and gentry? And of late years, did not the very scum of our nation conquer you? Yes, said I, after they had, with our assistance, conquered the king, and the nobility and gentry of England: and yet that, which you call a conquest, was a dispute between parties, and not a national quarrel. It was, said he, inseparable from the fortune of our Edwards to triumph over your nation. Do you mean Edward of Carnarvan, said I, and his victory at Bannockburn? No, replied he, I mean Edward the first and third, whose heroic actions no princes have ever equalled. Sure, said I, you do not mean the honour of the first, or the humanity of the third, so signally manifested at Berwick: nor the murder of Wallace by the first Edward, or the poisoning of Randolph, earl of Murray, by the third, after they had both refused to give battle to those heroes. Sir Christopher, whose temper and gravity could not bear this upbraiding each other with old stories, interrupted these sallies, and desired I would farther explain myself touching an union between England and Ireland. The better conditions you give them, said I, the greater wisdom you will shew. But you do not consider, said Sir Christopher, that Ireland lies more commodiously situated for trade, and has better harbours than England; and, if they had the same freedom and privileges, might carry the trade from us. Ay, said I, there it is: trade is the

constant stumbling-block, and ball of contention. But do you think, that if Ireland, by a just and equal union with England, should encrease in riches, such an encrease would prove so prejudicial to England, where the seat of the government is?

CERTAINLY.

THEN, said I, it were better to exclude Ireland wholly from trade; for in that case, the trade of England would increase by so much as Ireland now possesses; and the power and riches of England confined at home would be no longer in danger of passing into any other nation.

I BELIEVE you may be in the right.

YOU will certainly find me to be so, said I, if, in order to manage this new accession of trade, all the people of Ireland should be brought over to England; for in this case the value of England would increase much more than can be expected to accrue from Ireland in the present circumstances of things, that country being frequently not only unprofitable, but burdensome to England.

I AGREE with you.

BUT, said I, if Ireland should be left without inhabitants, I fear the French king would take hold of the occasion, and possess himself of the whole country. That would only weaken him, said he, who, grasping at the possession of the Spanish monarchy, has no number of people to spare. But, said I, a port in the province of Munster, so near the entry of the channel, and over-against Brest,

might be of use to him, require no great number of men to maintain, and be of the most dangerous consequence to us. So that, for argument sake, we must suppose Ireland sunk in the sea; and then you will cease to fear either that they may set up for themselves, or carry away the trade from England. And being possessed of all their people and riches, you will be no longer liable to the expence of defending that kingdom. From these suppositions, said he, the consequence is just. Do you not think, continued I, that for the same reasons it might be the interest of England to bring the people of the six northern counties into the south, provided that country could also be sunk? For trade will certainly increase, and be more easily managed, when brought within a less compass. Besides, you would then have so broad a ditch to secure you against the Scots, that you would be rid of any trouble from them also. He could not but acknowlege the parity of reason, and said, that if nature had made such a ditch from the beginning, the happiness of England had been complete. I added, that Wales being a country inconsiderable either for soil or commerce, that people might be much more advantageously employed in trading here, than in keeping goats at home; and your union with them become much stricter, by bringing them nearer London: and then I think that country might likewise be sunk with advantage. Though you banter, said he, yet the consequence will undeniably follow from your
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suppositions. And do you not think, said I, the same arguments would prove, that all the considerable trade of the world might be brought into one city, and all mankind to live within and about that place ?

PERHAPS.

FOR what end then, said I, did God create such vast tracts of land, capable of producing so great variety and abundance of all things necessary and useful to men ? In order, I suppose, that these countries might not be inhabited, and that mankind might confine themselves to islands, strait, barren, and unwholsome situations, and live upon trade. Can there be a greater disorder in human affairs ? Besides, we know that such numbers of men did not meet together in morasses, and other inconvenient places out of choice ; but were forced and driven by the violence of tyranny to shelter themselves in difficult and inaccessible situations, as is plain by the examples of Holland, Venice, Tyre, and other cities : and when they were come together, they were necessitated, in order to subsist, to apply themselves to manufacture, navigation, and the like arts. But if the governments of the world were well-regulated, and men might have the liberty of chusing, they would not be confined to such narrow, barren, and unwholsome places, nor live so much at sea, or in the exercise of a sedentary and unmanly trade, to foment the luxury of a few ; but would disperse themselves over the world in great-

er or lesser numbers, according to the goodness of the soil, and live in a more free and manly way, attended with a more equal distribution of riches than trade and commerce will allow. Trade is not the only thing to be considered in the government of nations: and justice is due, even in point of trade, from one nation to another. For every good government has always encouraged industry, because all mankind have a right to the fruits of their own labour. And on that account all governments which put discouragements on the industry of their subjects are not upon a right foot; but violent, and consequently unjust. Soft and fair, said Sir Christopher, the consequences of these maxims reach farther than perhaps you imagine. We must not rely too much upon our own speculations, or think the world can ever be rightly governed; but must take things as they are, and consider the interest of the society in which we live. And if any profitable trade be in the possession of our neighbours, we may endeavour to dispossess them of that advantage for the good of our own society. Though this should be granted, said I, yet you ought not to deny to a people, who, like Ireland, live under your government, the fruits of their industry. This sure is great injustice.

NOT at all, said he; for as I told you, they may break with us, and set up a distinct government in opposition to our right, and perhaps with the ruin of this nation. What can tempt and pro-

provoke them so much, said I, to do so, as unjust usage? But the surest way, replied he, is, to put it out of their power to separate from us. If so, said I, you must own your way of governing that people to be an oppression; since your design is to keep them low and weak, and not to encourage either virtue or industry. For the light of nature teaches, that men ought not to use one another unjustly on any account, much less under the specious pretext of government. But we have a right, answered he, to use them at discretion, because we have conquered them.

THEN you have a right to do injustice.

IT is not injustice, said he, because it is our right. And you do not consider, that things just in themselves are not always so in relation to government; that the condition of human affairs necessarily obliges those that govern, to attend the good and interest of the whole society, and not to be over scrupulous in doing exact justice to particular persons; especially if their interest should happen to be different from that of the community. And for this reason, those countries, which are most remote from the seat of the government, ought not to expect an equal participation of liberty and immunities with those that lie at less distance. For if they should enjoy the same privileges, the subjection of such nations could not be secured. You know, that under the Roman government the liberties and privileges of those, who lived in and about the city of Rome,
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were far greater than the rest of Italy enjoyed, which yet was possessed of many more than any of the provinces. I doubt not, said I, this order was very proper to retain the dominion of the world in the power of one city. But I think those nations might have lived more happily under another kind of regulation; and am fully persuaded, that all great governments, whether republics or monarchies, not only disturb the world in their rise and fall; but by bringing together such numbers of men, and immense riches into one city, inevitably corrupt all good manners, and make them incapable of order and discipline, as you have already owned, and experience has but too well demonstrated. Rome, the greatest of all, incessantly disturbed her neighbours for seven hundred years; and, after the conquest of almost all the known world, was corrupted by excess of riches and power, and spread the infection over all the parts of that empire, which at length brought in so many barbarous nations, and caused so many wars, and so great effusion of blood, that the world suffered as much by the overthrow and destruction, as by the rise and continuance, of that mighty power. Yet, said he, I think it is necessary, that a considerable body of people should be united under one government, and by that means enabled to defend themselves against a powerful enemy, because by the successful ambition of some men, we frequently see great and formidable powers arise in the world, to the disturbance

sturbance of all their neighbours. In that I perfectly agree with you, said I. Pray then, replied he, what numbers would you allow in such a body of men: or rather, what extent of territory would you think necessary to a right division of the world into several distinct governments, since you are so much an enemy to all great and over-grown powers? You seem willing, said I, to confer such an office upon me, that those who do not know my name, will take me for a second Phaleg. Not to lay then too great a burden upon you at once, answered he, I desire you to acquaint us into what parts you would divide Europe, most commodiously to obtain the true ends of government. I replied, that God and nature seemed to have marked out certain portions of the world for several great societies of men; having divided them from each other by seas and mountains, or some remarkable difference of the soil and climate. The island of Britain and that of Ireland seem conveniently situated for one government: Spain and Portugal for another, because they lie together in one compact body, and are divided from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenean mountains. In like manner, France is contained within the Alps, Jura, the Voge, the Ardennes, and the Pyrenees. Italy is separated from all other parts by the Alps; and the three adjacent islands seem naturally to belong to that country. The seventeen Provinces, the circles of Westphalia and lower Saxony, with the archbishopric of Cologne,
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and kingdom of Denmark, seem commodiously placed to be united under one government. The rest of Germany, with the Swiss Cantons, and the provinces that lie between those countries and the Adriatic sea, might very well compose another. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Liefland, and the northern parts of European Muscovy, lying under the same climate, may be conveniently joined together. Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, and the southern parts of the European Muscovy, with the little Tartary, might likewise be properly united. The countries that lie to the north of Macedonia and Albania, and on the south of the Carpathian mountains, from Austria, Stiria, and Carniola to the Euxin sea, might be a ninth distinct government; and Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, Epirus, Achaia, Morea, Negropont, Candia, and the adjacent islands, a tenth. And now I think I may rest, and take breath after so long a journey, leaving to any other the liberty of making the like through the other three parts of the world. What all this tends to I cannot imagine, said Sir Christopher; for, by your division, our own government would continue to be of as great extent as now. You shall know that, said I, before we part. In the mean time, to justify in some measure the reasonableness of this division, you may consider, that almost every one of the ten parts, into which I have divided Europe, speaks a language distinct from all the rest, and that the people are generally of the same temper
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and like dispositions. Sir Edward, impatient to hear a discourse about so many things and places with which he is so little acquainted, thought fit to interrupt us; and directing his words to me; Sir, said he, are you undertaking to teach us geography? Else what can you mean by such a division of Europe? Will you not allow, said I, a private man to make an imaginary division of countries; when it is well known, that a great king, in the beginning of the last age, contrived one of the same nature? and you do not yet fully know what use I shall make of this division. You have led me into such a maze, said the Earl, and raised so many new thoughts in me, that, without regard to our former reasoning, I must pursue some of them. That which occurs to me, first, is, that if governments so equal in strength, either on account of their riches or situation, should come to be established, mankind might live in greater peace than they do: especially if these governments were, by mutual alliances, obliged to preserve the common tranquillity. But you are to observe, said Sir Christopher, the imperfection of this project to preserve peace in the world. For though one or two of these governments might not dare to disturb and injure the rest, yet nothing can hinder one half of them from combining against the other. And as such wars would be managed by a far greater number of forces than the present, mankind must of consequence be made more miserable. The nature of human affairs

is such, said I, that a perpetual peace is not to be preserved among men ; yet certainly some constitutions of government are better fitted to maintain the public tranquillity than others. And in place of the continual great and ruinous wars, which questions about the succession of princes, and their ambitious designs, have intailed upon the world, things might be brought to less frequent contentions, and the public animosities either prevented from proceeding to open breaches ; or if at some times wars could no way be avoided, they might be neither lasting nor bloody. If you can shew, said he, how so happy a state of things may be introduced into the world, you will do the greatest service imaginable to mankind. For matters are now brought to such a pass, that in every war almost all Europe and America, with a great part of Asia and Africa, become engaged. You are in the right, said I ; and these universal wars, as I may call them, which, with little interruption, have continued more than thirty years, have so distressed this part of the world, and occasioned such disorder in the affairs of men, that Europe is thought to be diminished a full fifth in value. For wars, besides that they are become universal, are now wholly managed by the force and power of money, and by that means most grievously oppress and afflict not only the places that are the theatres of action, but even the remotest village and most solitary cottage. And the French king having, by the oppression of his subjects, and exact

act œconomy of his affairs, been able to keep such great numbers of troops on foot, has obliged the rest of Europe to a proportionable expence, and thereby made all wars by land at least twice as chargeable as formerly they were; and by sea to exceed all example. But to give you my opinion of this matter, I think mankind might be best preserved from such convulsions and misery, if instead of framing governments with regard only to a single society, as I believe all legislators have hitherto done, we should constitute such as would be no less advantageous to our neighbours than ourselves. You talk strangely, said Sir Christopher, as if our advantage were not frequently inconsistent with that of our neighbours. I am of opinion, replied I, that the true interest and good of any nation is the same with that of any other. I do not say that one society ought not to repel the injuries of another; but that no people ever did any injustice to a neighbouring nation, except by mistaking their own interest. You talk, said he, of injustice, but I speak of advantage. If you go about, said I, to take away, by force, any advantage that belongs to a neighbouring people, you not only do injustice to them, but injure yourself by the example. Whatever the example be, replied he, the advantage will accrue to my country. For the present, and in appearance, said I. But a citizen in the service of his country, said he, is not obliged to the same scruples as in his private affairs; and must be true to his public

lic trust, and take care that the commonwealth suffer no prejudice. Then, said I, no man can be a good citizen of a particular commonwealth, and a citizen of the world; no man can be a true friend to his country and to mankind at the same time. I confess, said he, this conclusion naturally follows: but we may not dispense with the interest of our country as with our own; and you know the precepts contained in the sermon on the mount relate to the actions of private men. Do you think then, said I, that one nation cannot do injustice to another? Yes, answered he, when that which is done is to the prejudice of both. And do you not also think, said I, that one nation may make an unjust war against another?

YES.

THEN if your country should make such a war with success, they would have accomplished an unjust design. True, said he; but if thereby any advantage accrue to the nation, this becomes an acquired right to the people, and ought to be defended by all those who are intrusted with the public affairs. Now, if afterwards it should happen, said I, that such a neighbouring nation should renew the war, in order to recover what they had lost, would that war be unjust on their part?

I THINK NOT.

THEN you lay a foundation as well for your neighbours to make a just war against you, as for your own nation to make an advantageous war (which you say is not unjust) against them. This
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sure is far from the design of abolishing wars so far as may be possible. By what other means then, said he, may we hope to obtain this good end? The most effectual way, replied I, is, that all such governments, as are of a sufficient force to defend themselves, should be rendered either incapable or unfit to make conquests. For the ambitious desires of men to encrease their dominions, have always been the principal cause of disturbing the peace of the world. It is impossible, said Sir Edward Seymour, to take away that natural and generous inclination which is found in the best of men, to extend the empire of their country; especially among us, who have such great examples in our history to encourage us, and so noble and populous a city; which, by being situated near the south-east point of the island, lies as conveniently to command the north of France and all the Low Countries, as the three kingdoms. But Sir, said I, do you approve what Sir Christopher has said, that wars are to be abolished by all possible means? Suppose I do, said he; yet how can so strong an inclination, found not only in particular men, but sometimes in the whole body of a people, be altered? If the dominions of a state, said I, might not be encreased by conquest.

How is that possible?

IF, for example, said I, every one of those ten portions of Europe, I mentioned before, had ten or twelve sovereign cities well fortified within its territories, each of them possessing and governing
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the adjacent district: such a government strengthened with forts in passes, and other convenient places, might be very capable to defend itself, and yet altogether unfit for conquest.

WHY so?

BECAUSE, said I, a conquest divided into twelve parts would be of little account, they could not be made adjacent to the several cities to which they ought to belong. But, said he, such conquered places might be governed in common to the advantage of the whole union. That, replied I, would be like a possession in common, for which no man has any particular affection, and on that account lies always neglected. But you talk, said Sir Edward, of sovereign cities; I fancy you mean republics; which is nothing to us, who live under the benign influence of monarchy. You may suppose these cities, said I, to be the capitals of sovereign and independent kingdoms or countries. For of such sovereignties, united under one monarch, we have many examples. And the prince may either keep his court in each of them successively; or, which is better, reside in the country, and permit no more buildings about his palaces than are absolutely necessary for his domestics, and the dispatch of public business, and not to harbour a crew of lazy, profligate, and vicious wretches, fit only to render his court a mere sink of corruption, and a seminary to propagate all manner of vice through the whole nation. So that we may proceed to reason concern-

cerning the excellency of those governments, which consist of divers sovereignties united for their common defence, whether cities or kingdoms; whether independent already, or to be made so in order to put such a design in execution; whether governed by a prince, or by a great council of delegates. But certainly, said he, if these distinct sovereignties were incorporated under one head and city, such a government would be of greater force. If you mean, said I, to disturb their own peace, and that of their neighbours, I grant your assertion.

How so?

You must acknowlege, said I, that a great city is more tumultuous and disorderly, and therefore more capable of disturbing its own peace than small ones, and much more violently inclined to conquer other countries, because better able to retain the conquest. But sure, said he, if divers small sovereignties were united under one prince, his authority would better preserve peace among them, than if they were governed by a council of delegates, which in my opinion is only proper to set them together by the ears. I am very glad, said I, that you think such united governments more suitable to monarchies than to commonwealths; for if that be true, there will be greater hopes of introducing them into the world. And indeed a prince seems much more fitted to be at the head of such a league, than a council, as to the military part, in which principally such an union has occasion to

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exert its power. So that I have nothing more to do than to prove that such governments are, of all others, the best to preserve mankind, as well from great and destructive wars, as from corruption of manners, and most proper to give to every part of the world that just share in the government of themselves which is due to them. If you can prove, said Sir Christopher, what you undertake, I shall have no more to say. It is indeed, said I, a most surprizing thing to me, that not only all those who have ever actually formed governments, but even those who have written on that subject, and contrived schemes of constitutions, have, as I think, always framed them with respect only to particular nations, for whom they were designed, and without any regard to the rest of mankind. Since, as they could not but know that every society, as well as every private man, has a natural inclination to exceed in every thing, and draw all advantages to itself, they might also have seen the necessity of curbing that exorbitant inclination, and obliging them to consider the general good and interest of mankind, on which that of every distinct society does in a great measure depend. And one would think that politicians, who ought to be the best of all moral philosophers, should have considered what a citizen of the world is. It is true, something like a consideration of the common good of mankind appeared in the constitution of the Achaian league; and if any of the antients ever had a right view
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in this affair, the founders of that government were the men. But the mighty power of the Roman commonwealth oppressed them in the very infancy of their establishment, and so deprived posterity of a perfect knowledge of the tendency of that constitution. Most governments have been framed for conquests; that is, to disturb the peace of mankind: though I know that some were less fitted for conquest than others, as the aristocratical. But there was nothing even in those constitutions that could sufficiently restrain the desire of enlarging their dominions, though no way formed to that end; which has frequently brought great calamities upon many of those governments, as the examples of Venice and Sparta demonstrate. In the last of which, the wise legislator having formed the manners of the people for war, and the constitution altogether unfit to retain conquests, I would willingly persuade myself, that he designed these two things should balance each other, in order to keep that people always exercised to arms, and yet not give them the occasion of rising to such a height, as would inevitably precipitate them into ruin. And this, I think, should have been obvious to all legislators, that whoever contrives to make a people very rich and great, lays the foundation of their misery and destruction, which in a short time will necessarily overtake them. For such vicissitudes of human affairs are as certain as those of heat and cold in the revolution of the year; and no condition of
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men, or public societies, is durable and lasting, except such as are established in mediocrity. Now, in small governments laws may be duly executed, and the manners of men in a great measure preserved from corruption: but because such governments are not of force sufficient to defend themselves, a considerable number of them should be united together for the common safety; by which union and league they will be enabled to resist a powerful invasion, and yet remain incapable of conquest. The three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, may serve for an example of this: which, though situated on islands, are yet in their present condition exposed to the fate of a single battle, if a great army of enemies could be landed near London. But if good forts were erected in the most considerable passes; and twelve cities with all the sea-ports well fortified, the loss of many battles would not determine the matter. And considering that our naval force might, in a great measure, intercept the supplies of the enemy, we might defend ourselves against all our neighbours. And as such a constitution would be altogether unfit to molest them, so it would give them little encouragement to disturb our peace. At this rate, said Sir Christopher, if we should continue long in peace, and unaccustomed to war, we might become a prey to the first invader. I answered, that I did not think we ought to be wholly unconcerned in the affairs of the continent; but that such a constitution

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tion would certainly keep us from the danger of making conquests abroad, which in the present state of things any ambitious prince may attempt. Our militias might be usefully and honourably employed in assisting our neighbours to form the like leagues on the continent; and a gradual propagation of such excellent governments would become easy, when mankind should be convinced of the great happiness and security they would enjoy by living under them. And though these leagues might possibly, at some time, make wars upon one another on occasion of a sudden pique, or to take revenge for some unneighbourly action; yet such wars could not be lasting, because nothing but hopes of making acquisitions and conquests can make them so. And as to the advantage of having twelve cities governing themselves happily and virtuously, instead of one great vicious and ungovernable city, I leave it to your consideration, who have so judiciously shewn, that great cities do not only corrupt the manners of their own inhabitants, but those of whole nations, and destroy all good government. Cities of a moderate extent are easily governed, and the example and authority of one virtuous man is often sufficient to keep up good order and discipline; of which we have divers instances in the history of the Grecian republics: whereas great multitudes of men are always deaf to all remonstrances, and the frequency of ill example is more powerful than laws. But, said Sir Christopher, to reduce

London within the compass of the old walls, seems a thing impracticable. This difficulty will be removed, replied I, when this city shall be only the capital of thee neighbouring counties. It would be thought injustice, said he, to remove the seat of the government from a place which has been so long possessed of that great advantage. The injustice, said I, has been greater, that one place has so long enjoyed those profits which ought to have been divided among the considerable cities of the nation. I am afraid, said he, that all endeavours to disturb the affairs of so great a body of people, only out of a remote prospect of bettering their condition by a new regulation, may fall under the imputation of folly: and that men would think it hard to be plunged into such difficulties, as so great a change would necessarily occasion. Sir, said I, if a French king, when he is in peace with other nations, should suddenly attack us with his whole power, how can we resist him in our present condition; having no fortified cities, and the great seat of all our riches and power exposed to the very first insult of the invader? One would think such a people were predestinated to ruin. You talk of the folly and hardship of putting men into some difficulties by a new regulation of their affairs, and seem not to consider how much more cruel a thing it would be to suffer these nations to be enslaved by a foreign invasion, or inevitably lose their liberty by that corruption of manners which this vicious
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and profligate city diffuses into every part. I did not foresee, said Sir Christopher, what use you would make of my complaint against the depravation of manners that reigns in this town, but acknowledge the consequence you draw to be just; and that if we design to diminish the corruption, we must lessen the city. What visions have we here, said Sir Edward? destroy the greatest and most glorious city of the world to prosecute a whimsical project! Sir, replied I, you have heard what I have answered to Sir Christopher; and besides, do you not think the remoter parts of England injured by being obliged to have recourse to London for almost every thing, and particularly for justice? Do you not think them wronged, in that almost all the treasure of England is yearly laid out in this place, and by that means the substance of the other parts exhausted, and their rents and revenues diminished? This, said he, is of little importance to the nation, so long as they continue to rise in the counties that lie nearest to the capital. I do not know that, replied I, but am of opinion, that if instead of one, we had twelve cities in these kingdoms possessed of equal advantages, so many centres of men, riches and power, would be much more advantageous than one. For this vast city is like the head of a rickety child, which, by drawing to itself the nourishment that should be distributed in due proportions to the rest of the languishing body, becomes so over-charged, that frenzy and death unavoidably

ensue. And if the number of people and their riches would be far greater in twelve cities than now in one; which I think no man will dispute; and that these cities were such as are situated in convenient distances from each other, the relief and advantages they would bring to every part of these kingdoms would be unspeakable. For example, if the people of Yorkshire or Devonshire were not obliged to go farther than York or Exeter to obtain justice, and consequently had no occasion to spend money out of those counties, how soon should we see another face of things in both? how soon would they double and treble their present value? That London should draw the riches and government of the three kingdoms to the south-east corner of this island, is in some degree as unnatural, as for one city to possess the riches and government of the world. And, as I said before, that men ought to be dispersed over all countries in greater or lesser numbers according to the fertility of the soil; so, no doubt, justice should be administered to all in the most convenient manner that may be, and no man be obliged to seek it at an inconvenient distance. And if the other parts of government are not also communicated to every considerable body of men; but that some of them must be forced to depend upon others, and be governed by those who reside far from them, and little value any interest except their own, studying rather how to weaken them in order to make sure of their subjection; I say, all

all such governments are violent, unjust, and unnatural. I shall add, that so many different seats of government will highly encourage virtue. For all the same offices, that belong to a great kingdom, must be in each of them; with this difference, that the offices of such a kingdom being always burdened with more business than any one man can rightly execute, most things are abandoned to the rapacity of servants; and the extravagant profits of all great officers plunge them into all manner of luxury, and debauch them from doing good: whereas the offices of these lesser governments, extending only over a moderate number of people, will be duly executed, and many men have occasions put into their hands of doing good to their fellow citizens. So many different seats of government will highly tend to the improvement of all arts and sciences; and afford great variety of entertainment to all foreigners and others of a curious and inquisitive genius, as the antient cities of Greece did. I perceive now, said Sir Edward, the tendency of all this discourse. On my conscience he has contrived the whole scheme to no other end than to set his own country on an equal foot with England and the rest of the world. To tell you the truth, said I, the insuperable difficulty I found of making my country happy, by any other way, led me insensibly to the discovery of these things; which, if I mistake not, have no other tendency than to render, not only my own country, but all

all mankind, as happy as the imperfections of human nature will admit. For I considered, that in a state of separation from England, my country would be perpetually involved in bloody and destructive wars. And if we should be united to that kingdom in any other manner, we must of necessity fall under the miserable and languishing condition of all places that depend upon a remote seat of government. And pray where lies the prejudice, if the three kingdoms were united on so equal a foot, as for ever to take away all suspicion and jealousy of separation? that virtue and industry might be universally encouraged, and every part contribute chearfully, and in due proportion, to the security and defence of this union, which will preserve us so effectually from those two great calamities, war and corruption of manners. This is the only just and rational kind of union. All other coalitions are but the unjust subjection of one people to another. Here I stopped; but after some pause, finding the rest of the company silent, I continued to say, that I would not pretend to determine, whether each of the portions, into which I had divided Europe, should be confined to the precise number of twelve cities: though possibly if there were more, they might be subject to some confusion; and if not so many, would not answer the end: that I would not determine whether they should altogether consist of cities that are already considerable, as in these islands are London, Bristol, Exeter, Chester, Norwich,

wich, York, Stirling, Inverness, Dublin, Cork, Galloway, Londonderry ; or whether some other places more conveniently situated for strength, and more capable of fortification, might not rather be of the number. But this easy division of territory I think indispensably necessary, that to every city all the next adjacent country should belong. I was going on to open many things concerning these leagued governments, when a servant came to acquaint us that dinner was set on the table. We were nobly entertained, and after dinner I took leave of the company, and returned to my lodgings, having promised to meet them again at another time to discourse farther on the same subject.

My lords, I shall add nothing to this account, being persuaded that so long a narration has already sufficiently tired you.

I am,

Your most humble servant.

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